

The Nation.

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EDITORIAL

SALT II SHAKEN

To one should have been surprised when President Reagan announced that the United States—
is United States—would no longer be bound by the unratified SALT II Treaty. During his Administration he has stretched the provisions of the superpowers' several arms control treaties to the limit and beyond, as he primed the munitions industry to lead the economic recovery and pushed the ideology of American military superiority.

SALT II was saved, in a manner of speaking, not because Reagan saw any value in arms control but because abrogation would inevitably produce political problems for him at home and abroad. Following his familiar pattern of behavior, Reagan delayed difficult decisions until all other options had expired. And still he is playing for time; his renunciation of the treaty last month is, in effect, postdated to a point later this year when new U.S. missiles will be ready for deployment, and predicated on continued Soviet rejection of his own diplomatic and military agenda. For their part and for their own reasons, the Russians have been extraordinarily eager to retain SALT II and to take unilateral steps to slow the arms race and reduce cold war tensions. Reagan has rebuffed all their offers, even those that would benefit the U.S. military posture, as the most recent Soviet proposals would.

If political pressure has been able to slow Reagan's mad militarism in the past, it also holds only hope for restraint in the future. Reagan and his warriors are pursuing a vision and practicing a policy for which the arms race is essential. An alternate aspect must be projected and protected by the international peace movements and liberal political parties opposed to Reagan's domination. Without a concerted campaign of opposition there will be no reason for Reagan to change on his malevolent promise of U.S. nuclear supremacy by the end of the decade.

**CHESTER
BOWLES
Roger Wilkins**

**WHO'LL PAY
FOR A U.S.
CHERNOBYL?
S.K. Levin**

**REAGAN'S
JUDGES
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TERRORISM
SCAM
Edward W.
Said**

WINGS OF THE STATE

THE STRANGE HISTORY OF K.A.L.

DAVID CORN

Here is one version of how it all began for Cho Choong Hoon. Sometime after the liberation of Korea in 1945, Cho—known as Harry to Westerners—was driving along a country road in his truck when he noticed a jeep stalled by the side of the road. Cho stopped to offer a hand and helped get the vehicle started. One of the jeep's passengers, a U.S. Army officer, told Cho to look him up sometime. Cho did and the acquaintanceship bloomed into a contract to haul supplies for the U.S. Army.

Whether or not it started that way, Harry Cho's Hanjin Transportation company earned tens of millions of dollars shipping military supplies prior to and during the Korean War. Contracts with the U.S. Army laid the foundation of Cho's financial empire, the Hanjin Group, a conglomerate which became best known for its ownership of one of South Korea's most prominent companies, Korean Air Lines.

K.A.L., now called Korean Air, achieved international notoriety when its Flight 007 was shot down over the Soviet Union in 1983. Although the downing of Flight 007 forced the company into the spotlight, media attention focused mainly on unanswered questions about the incident [see David Pearson, "K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It," *The Nation*, August 18/25, 1984]. Was the plane on an intelligence mission? Did the United States monitor the flight as it veered off course? Did the Russians know it was a civilian airliner they were tracking? With lawsuits pending against the airline, and forthcoming books probing the affair, those questions are very much alive. But

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LETTERS.

ECONOMICS FOR THE LEFT

New York City

Michael Harrington, in his May 3 article, "Progressive Economics for 1988," makes some recommendations for developing a program for the democratic left. First he tackles the issue of unemployment, which he divides into two components:

§ *Raising the minimum wage.* He proposes that the minimum be raised to \$5 an hour, providing the government guarantees a useful job to everyone, which would, in turn, raise the wages of everyone else—so far, so good. Harrington then adds that the increased minimum wage would enhance productivity. How? "I turn to corporate America for part of the answer," he says. If corporate America would follow a high-wage, full-employment, guaranteed-job strategy (as per the Japanese) with equal pay for women—presto!—productivity would rise because workers would be motivated by patriotism (really, that's the word he uses) and by a full-employment economy.

§ *Increased Productivity.* Productive work, he says, can be created by granting subsidies to private corporations. In case you've misunderstood or didn't get the point, Harrington repeats, and I quote, "The left should propose providing *hand-some* tax subsidies only to corporations that create jobs in areas of high unemployment." [Emphasis added.] C'mon Mike, give us a break. Every time a corporation wants a handout from the city, state or Federal government, its major argument is that it will create jobs. We need to discontinue welfare payments to corporations.

Harrington then advises us that we can take lessons from corporations on worker participation in corporate decision-making. Those in the trade union movement know that, with very few exceptions, worker participation has been a monumental fraud.

Harrington also proposes a workweek reduced to thirty-five hours for forty hours' pay. Great! But (and here we go again) "the corporations should not be made to bear the increased labor costs by themselves"—they can't afford it. Part of the increase would be "subsidized by society"—all of us—"on the grounds that . . . increased productivity and reduced unemployment represent a social savings."

Harrington is engaging in corporate welfare gimmickry when he calls on the left to support the proposals he has made. I suggest we let neoliberals and neoconservatives vie with each other to pray at the altar of corporate America. They do it so much better! . . .

If the Democrats win the Senate in 1986 and the Presidency in 1988, then Congress should hold hearings on the feasibility of socializing those industries dominated by huge corporations whose crime and corrup-

tion go unpunished, who pay little or no taxes and whose leaders are part of the Business Roundtable, which is leading the fight to dismantle the trade union movement. . . .

The left must fight to restrain and dismantle corporate economic and political power if the real problems of this country are to be addressed.

I. Philip Sipser

HARRINGTON REPLIES

New York City

I argued that a guaranteed job would make workers much more likely to share their productivity expertise with management than if they had to fear that their own ingenuity would be used by the boss to fire them or their fellow worker. The patriotism reference was to World War II.

I proposed that all corporate subsidies that do not generate new jobs be taken away and that all such subsidies be conditioned on actual job-generating performance. Of course I want to discontinue "welfare payments" to corporations—my criterion would eliminate enormous giveaways—but since the private sector is going to be around for a while I want to give it incentives to follow public, rather than corporate, priorities.

The fact of the matter is that a rapid transition to thirty-five hours of work for forty hours of pay financed solely by corporations would raise their wage bill by 12.5 percent, which would tend to decrease their profits, their investments and, rather quickly, their payrolls. Such a "radical" and "anticorporate" suggestion is a plan for increased unemployment.

Should we "hold hearings" on socializing the entire commanding heights of the American economy? Holding hearings is a cop-out. Secondly, to propose wholesale socialization to the Democratic Party, i.e. to the only—if miserable, messy—institution capable of defeating the Republicans in 1986 and 1988, is not serious. And to think that "socialization" is a panacea is to ignore the socialist history of the twentieth century, including the experience of France under Mitterrand. I am for worker- and community-controlled ownership and for an immediate and practical program for full employment which approximates as much of that ideal as is possible. No more. No less.

Michael Harrington

DON'T IGNORE AZAPO

New York City

Rosa Luxemburg warned that revolutions don't let intellectuals play the schoolmaster with them. The continuing civil war in South Africa should command a like respect from American liberals. In his May 3 article, "The A.N.C. Is Taking Charge," Stephen Talbot has grossly simplified the liberation struggle.

Although he focuses solely on the A.N.C. and makes little attempt to survey the other forces of the political opposition or the labor organizations, Talbot nevertheless concludes that negotiations between the government and the A.N.C. could usher in the new society (Would anyone else be invited?) In this way he argues, a "bloodier and more radical" situation can be avoided.

Talbot writes that the Azanian People's Organization is "composed mainly of intellectuals," and he blithely reports the assertion that it has been infiltrated by police provocateurs. Did Talbot bother to confirm those claims independently? Most serious observers credit Azapo with a mass national following. Moreover, whether the differences between Azapo and the A.N.C. are sectarian or principled, the philosophy of black consciousness that Azapo espouses—when it was articulated by Steve Biko—galvanized the "Soweto generation" of the 1970s and remains a live force among township youth and in the trade union movement.

The courageous fight of the A.N.C. has won it an overwhelming respect among the African masses. But Talbot is wrong to pair non-A.N.C. tendencies out of the picture, however unhappy he is with the prospect of long, untidy revolution.

John Lawhead

TALBOT REPLIES

San Francisco

No one has ever accused me before of being pro-tidiness. My parents will be delighted, must confess, however, to hoping that the South African revolution will not be the protracted, exceedingly bloody ordeal I expect it will be. I have no desire to see tens of thousands of blacks die, no matter how noble the cause. My point, though, was that a rejuvenated A.N.C. (filled with recruits from the "Soweto generation" and "black consciousness" movement Lawhead praises) has clearly emerged as the leading anti-apartheid group in South Africa and that if the government has an ounce of sense—which I strongly doubt—it will immediately negotiate with the organization. Of course, the government would have to meet the A.N.C.'s condition including release of all political prisoners and legitimate representation of the black majority. I have no idea where Lawhead gets the impression that I was trying to eliminate "non-A.N.C. tendencies." On the contrary I reported that A.N.C. leaders are saying their organization, however popular, is not about to seize power by itself, nor rule the country alone. They want and need to make common cause with a wide range of anti-apartheid groups. And I should add that Azapo's problem with provocateurs and informers is not unique: for years the anti-apartheid forces have been plagued by government infiltrators.

Stephen Talbot

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EDITORIALS.

Market Abuse

Market abuse appears to be the characteristic crime of the 1980s, the felony of choice for an age of economic miracles. Like drug abuse, which plagued the 1960s, and spouse abuse in the 1970s, this latest form of individual malfeasance has roots in systemic failure. Wretched excess is built into the structure of speculation: too much is never enough. The several young arbitrageurs, investment bankers, merger lawyers and stock speculators indicted in the past month for profiting from inside information were hopelessly hooked on the money and privilege they came to expect as their

natural entitlements in this historic moment. They lived in \$2,000-a-month apartments on New York's Upper East Side, drove finely tuned European cars, worked out in classy, glassy health clubs and acted as if they owned the world they made every morning on Wall Street.

One of their breed, who went weird and ended up, at 28, poor in publishing, said recently that his investment banker buddies believe they are the "true creative artists of their generation," designing new financial instruments with the same aesthetic élan that inspired Cubists to dash off new canvases, or rock musicians to run new riffs. If indictment has turned their art slightly sour, it has not yet subverted the ideal of success, which drove their genius, or shattered the goal of greed. The daily Dow is still the

index of national achievement and personal best.

Dennis B. Levine, 33, a "merger specialist" at Drexel Burnham Lambert, has been charged by the Securities and Exchange Commission with trading in stock and options of companies about which he had inside information. He knew when they were about to be taken over by other corporations, and thus had a fair idea of what their stock would fetch on the market after the deals were made. Five others arrested in a separate case—Michael David, Morton Shapiro, Andrew Solomon, Daniel Silverman and Robert Salisbury—have been charged with participating in a complicated scheme in which David, a lawyer, let the others in on details of deals handled by his office, the high-powered New York firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison. The five are all in their mid-20s; they exercised, socialized and made money together, and they were speeding along the fast track when they collided with the S.E.C. All of them allegedly crossed the legal line separating sanctioned inside information from expertise so exclusive as to deny competitors a sporting chance at making an honest buck on their speculations.

Edward Arlen Marks, a much more marginal figure in the brokerage world, was arrested for a much more inventive scheme. According to the F.B.I., he sought to create his own inside information by destroying the reputation of the giant SmithKline Beckman Corporation—specifically, by putting rat poison in the capsules of their patent medicines Contac, Dietac and Teldrin. Marks allegedly bought SmithKline options that would net him a profit if the company's stocks fell, then laced the capsules with poison and notified the media. Unfortunately for him, the public did not panic, as it had after the Tylenol case in 1982; SmithKline stock remained strong, and Marks never made his killing in the market. As they say on the Street, some days the bear eats you.

The fabulous stock market of the Reaganomic boom is not only susceptible to abuse; it is in large measure founded on it. It is a system about speculation, not productive enterprise. The options market in particular is nothing more than a gambling game based on fractional adjustments in quoted stock prices. Nothing is built; nothing usable, edible or wearable is made. A few people on the inside—it hardly matters whether they are technically within the law—make a great deal of money by betting, manipulating and trading the elegant financial instruments they invent. The money shows up in their bank balances and in the G.N.P. figures

the Administration publishes to prove its economic prowess. But hardly any of it goes into solid structural growth. There's no trickle-down in this country from the \$80,000 Dennis Levine paid for his Ferrari. The fortunes the hot-shots spend on the inflated real estate market are similarly squandered in paper profits and illusionary investments.

The unindicted in the investment industry have called for new rules to prohibit abuses of information, but the problem they address is conceptual rather than managerial in nature, and to solve it requires the kind of changes in economic practice and behavior that few on the Street or any other street in America are willing to contemplate. *The Wall Street Journal* argues, editorially, that inside information is central and crucial to the market and that any new curbs would stifle its profitable operation. Everyone dreams of making a killing in the market. And the rat poison for some is the arbitrage for others.

Contract on C.C.R.

When *The New York Times* takes out a contract on an enemy target, it signals the world that politics has overtaken journalism in presenting the news that's fit to print. Somewhere or other at *The Times* clearly called a strike on the Center for Constitutional Rights, the public-interest legal group that has been active for two decades in the defense of civil rights and civil liberties cases, from the Chicago Seven Black Panthers and Catonsville Nine trials in the 1960s to the Sanctuary movement trial that just ended in Tucson, Arizona. Currently, the C.C.R. is representing the Philippine government in its battle to recover the billions squandered away or squandered by Ferdinand Marcos. That's enough to worry President Corason Aquino's friends and protectors in the American foreign policy establishment, who want to keep the Philippines free of leftist taint.

In a story about the Philippines case brimming with unattributed accusations, invented controversies and sly smears *Times* reporter Kirk Johnson hit the C.C.R. at its presumably weakest points: its roster of unpopular clients, its position at crosscurrents with the legal mainstream and its identification with left-wing and Third World causes. For added firepower, Johnson called on the center's rival, the Washington Legal Foundation, a base for right-wing litigation. This time the Washington lawyers were the prosecutors, and the C.C.R. was the defendant.

The center's professional relationship with the Aquino government is probably strong enough to survive *The Times*'s assassination attempt, which was too obvious and clumsy to be effective. What the episode points up, however, is the fragility of American support for the Philippine revolution if it strays from a narrow ideological path of adherence to U.S. policy. The C.C.R. is a symbol of opposition to most of that policy's manifestations and those who associate themselves with the center have been warned to watch their step.

WATCHING US WATCH K.A.L.

An F.O.I.A. request to the Defense Intelligence Agency for documents analyzing our K.A.L. coverage drew this reply, which arrived too late for inclusion in David Corn's article in this issue: "Upon review it has been determined that there is a document responsive to your request. However, all portions are properly classified and are not releasable."

Chester Bowles

Chester Bowles, who died on May 25 at the age of 85, was one of *the* liberals of his time. He and his kind helped forge my political consciousness. I was a liberal and proud of it, and despite the presence of a power in the body politic like Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, I was optimistic about the prospects for social decency in America because of white liberals like Bowles.

So why do my lips now curl—along with just about everyone else's across the political spectrum—when somebody talks about white liberals? And why recently on an Eastern shuttle when my eyes met those of Senator Gary Hart, possessor of the Americans for Democratic Action's most liberal rating for his Senate votes, did no sign of recognition pass between us, even though we've known each other in Washington ways since the McGovern campaign of 1972?

Bowles's life, his achievements and his failures answer those questions. People like Bowles were special because they believed in their country enough to see its deficiencies and cared enough about it to put the hard coinage of political risk on the table in an effort to close the gap between America's dream and its realities. Bowles was a New Deal, McCarthy-era, Fair Deal liberal. People like him did not flinch from the hard implications of values. They tried to lead and educate the country and to find solutions to the problems they confronted.

In the days when John Foster Dulles, the grandfather of our current simplistic and dangerous foreign policy, preached that it was immoral for Third World countries to hold themselves aloof from the cold war, Bowles called for understanding the emerging governments and engaging in sensitive and creative diplomacy with them. As Governor of Connecticut, he took risks to put his belief in civil rights into action. For those and other views he was branded a left-winger by John Davis Lodge and defeated for re-election.

Bowles's talky liberalism ruined his chances for the top job at the State Department in the Kennedy Administration, and those same characteristics, attendant to his opposition to the Bay of Pigs invasion, got him fired from the number-two job. At the time of Bowles's dismissal as Under Secretary, Robert F. Kennedy made a crack about his own disdain for liberals, which gave me my first hint that my heart was not on all fours with the young pragmatists who populated the New Frontier. Bowles's type was beginning to go out of style.

Since America's relationship with its black citizens is the second most important and enduring touchstone of domestic morality—that with the Native American population is clearly the first—it is a good index of what has happened to white liberalism. The pragmatists of the Kennedy years set the tone, if not the substance, of current liberal positions on racial issues. A lot of people in the civil rights division at the Justice Department kept telling us how complicated matters were and developed to a high art the practice of splitting the difference between right and wrong. They acted as umpires between wronged blacks and aggrieving whites, and they—

not the injured parties—decided what wrongs would be addressed and when. But at least the Kennedy-era pragmatists asked the right questions and pressed in the right directions.

Then a funny thing happened. Evil evil virtually disappeared: Bilbo, Eastland and Bull Connor are dead, and George Wallace changed his tune before he retired. Banal evil came to power, and most of the white liberals flinched. President Nixon inveighed against throwing money at problems, and the current President shills for bigotry with the same grace he employed to sell 20 MULE TEAM Borax decades ago. Unlike evil evil, however, poor and oppressed blacks have not disappeared; they have simply become invisible again, as the offspring of the pragmatic liberals offer the country an echo, not a choice.

Gary Hart, Joseph Biden and similar liberals seem to have nothing to say to blacks or to hear from us. Former Virginia Governor Charles Robb, abandoning his father-in-law's lights, tells us to seek solutions by curing the defects in the poor rather than in the society that denies them jobs. The new breed of Democratic politicians' main concern about blacks seems to be how they will handle Jesse Jackson after the Southern primary. They wouldn't be caught dead throwing courage at problems.

Meanwhile, ever-more right-leaning columnists appear on the pages of our "liberal" newspapers, while their editorials strive ever-more elegantly to tell us how complicated things are and to miss the point. The style is that of the old civil rights division without the moral compass. A recent editorial in *The Washington Post* exemplified the genre when it called those who tried to raise the issue of the catastrophic impact of the President's brutal ignorance members of the "let's-have-a-flap industry," and instructed us that his "unfortunate off-the-cuff remark" against the ignorant hungry was not the point.

Well, while all that is clearly fashionable, it misses the point about the moral squalor in our domestic life these days. Greed is in the saddle, young people are not taught about the splendors of giving service to the national community and the devil is truly taking the hindmost. The liberals are very quiet, and that is the point about Chester Bowles. He, like some still contributing white liberals—Joe Rauh and Bill Taylor to name two—didn't care much for being fashionable. No matter what it might have cost him, and cost him it surely did, Chester Bowles did not often miss a moral point.

ROGER WILKINS

Roger Wilkins was in the State, Commerce and Justice departments under Kennedy and Johnson.

GOING AWAY FOR THE SUMMER?

If you would like *The Nation* to follow you, please let us know your plans at least four to six weeks in advance. We need your current address, temporary address and the dates of your departure and return. Please send the information to *The Nation*, Temporary Address Change, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305.

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Ronald Wilson Reagan knows a thousand ways of being sentimental, hypocritical and cheap. His underlings and imitators do their poor best, but none can approach him in the insincere exploitation of the emotions of others. Lately both he and his groupies have had yet another stab at an exposed nerve—the nerve that twitches uncontrollably whenever the three letters “M.I.A.” are uttered.

In the week following Memorial Day there was a feast of synthetic ballyhoo, most of it picking up and repeating the themes of superpower self-pity that have become so familiar of late. ABC did a lachrymose special on M.I.A.s and a further program from the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial. When, at the close of the latter, the narrator said that there had been those who called this fine memorial “a ditch of shame,” you would never have known that the words belonged to that pro-war smartass Tom Wolfe. Nor would you have known, from the President’s glutinous speech at Arlington about the humble origins of the Vietnam draftees, that it was those who opposed the bloody intervention who had pointed out its class aspect from the start.

Let me introduce the subject of the Dammann family. Their son, Thomas, was a soldier. In 1960 he came home from his base at Fort Benning, Georgia, with a shattered leg. Officials at the base told his parents that he had been in a bad automobile accident the night before his discharge. For twenty-four years, they believed them, and him, as who would not. But in January 1984 Thomas’s wife called them from a Veteran’s Administration hospital in Wisconsin. He was being treated for “post-traumatic stress syndrome” as a result of experiences in Vietnam, she said.

The family was soon enough able to establish that there had been no road accident of the kind described by the Fort Benning authorities. The State Police had no record that remotely fit the time or the place. Thomas Dammann finally admitted that he had made five secret parachute jumps into North Vietnam in 1959 and 1960. During that period, the transition between the presidency of Eisenhower and the presidency of Kennedy, there was not even the pretense of a state of war with Hanoi. But we know now that Col. Edward Lansdale and others were running a covert war in Indochina, and had been doing so for some time.

Dammann said that he ruined his leg on the fifth mission and that perhaps twenty men were “blown up” with him. One of them died on board a plane headed for Fort Benning; the rest are interred who knows where. Dammann is dead now, after a protracted Calvary of stress, drinking and illness. His parents, both of them intensely respectable, would not lie. His father says that by the fall of 1983 his son was yelling at the nightly news reports from Central America and cursing the smooth justifications for covert warfare there.

It feels embarrassing and awkward to make use of the Dammann family’s grief. But when one sees the President and his speechwriters milking the Gold Star mothers and the unsung blue-collar heroes of the “noble cause,” one has to

object on grounds of decency alone. If there are unrecovered bodies in Indochina, it is probable in the highest degree that they went missing after some damn-fool, unauthorized cowboy operation to gratify the budget of a dirty-tricks HQ. We can’t bring them back, any more than we can bring back the 1.5 million dead Vietnamese. But might we not be spared that most horrible of all sights: an old battle-shy politician drooling lovingly over the death of young men? To paraphrase Chesterton, writing about another colonial war:

The men that worked for America
They have their graves at home:
And bees and birds of America
About the cross can roam.

But they that fought for America,
Following a falling star,
Alas, alas for America
They have their graves afar.

And they that rule in America,
In stately conclave met,
Alas, alas for America
They have no graves as yet.

* * *

It’s considered just as important to forget Watergate these days as it is to forget Vietnam. So I was touched by the response to my article “Watergate: The Greek Connection,” in the May 31 issue. My thanks to all who wrote and rang, and a special mention to Tom Oliphant of *The Boston Globe* for lifting the entire story without attribution. It’s this kind of “input,” as we journalists call it, that has made *The Nation* an influence down the years.

Two fragments of update. On May 30 Reuters carried an interview with John Ehrlichman that wasn’t picked up and should have been. Nixon’s former domestic affairs adviser said that when the National Archives releases 2.5 million pages of Nixon documents later this year, the reputation of his old boss will not maintain its current upward gradient. Ehrlichman recalled his last conversation with Henry Kissinger, during which the pundit and war criminal said:

John, you know you and I are going to look pretty stupid when those tapes are all out. Nixon’s going to be sitting there saying perfectly outrageous things and we are not protesting.

Small wonder that Nixon’s aides have gone to court to block the release of the papers.

Then there’s a moment in John Dean’s *Blind Ambition* that I wish I had come across earlier. Describing a meeting with CREEP lawyer Paul O’Brien in January 1973, Dean records that:

O’Brien walked into my office the next morning, threw his trenchcoat on a chair and sat down in his customary place in front of my desk. The trenchcoat always reminded me of something he’d said when we were looking for ways to help LaRue [John Mitchell’s aide] raise money abroad. He had said he might be able to help in Greece, because he had a law firm there that served as a front for the C.I.A.

ARTICLES.

■ CHANGING PRICE-ANDERSON

Who'll Pay for
A U.S. Chernobyl?

S.K. LEVIN

If an accident at any of the nation's nuclear bomb factories or nuclear power plants released significant amounts of radioactivity, people whose health was damaged or property destroyed would receive little compensation. And the nuclear industry is lobbying to keep things that way.

The public's right to recover damages was curtailed in 1957 by the little-known Price-Anderson Act, which places a cap on the liability of all nuclear facilities. The cap applies even when gross negligence, bad faith or willful misconduct causes an accident—a protection granted no other U.S. industry.

If a meltdown like the one at Chernobyl occurred at a plant in this country—and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission says there is about a 50 percent chance of that happening by the end of this century—health and property damages could exceed \$300 billion.

Under Price-Anderson, however, the industry's liability now stops at \$665 million. And before any claims are paid, a utility is allowed to deduct legal expenses incurred in fighting those claims. Another chunk of the total is set aside to compensate people who contract slow-developing diseases, such as cancer. As a result, the victims would be lucky to collect a penny on every dollar of their losses.

When Price-Anderson was enacted, it was promoted as a temporary measure to help the infant nuclear power industry get on its feet. But when the law was set to expire, in 1967 and again in 1977, Congress voted well ahead of time to retain it.

Next year Price-Anderson will again be up for renewal. The debate in Washington over who should pay for a nuclear accident—the utilities, through insurance premiums, or the victims—is under way, with more than ten bills now before key committees. Last month the House Interior Committee cleared a bill raising the limits of the industry's liability for accidents to \$6.5 billion. How Congress deals with Price-Anderson this time could have ramifications far beyond the nuclear industry. If the \$665 million cap is retained along with the provision protecting the power companies from suits even when extreme negligence causes the accident, observers say, other industries engaged in hazardous activities, such as the chemical industries, will also demand special treatment.

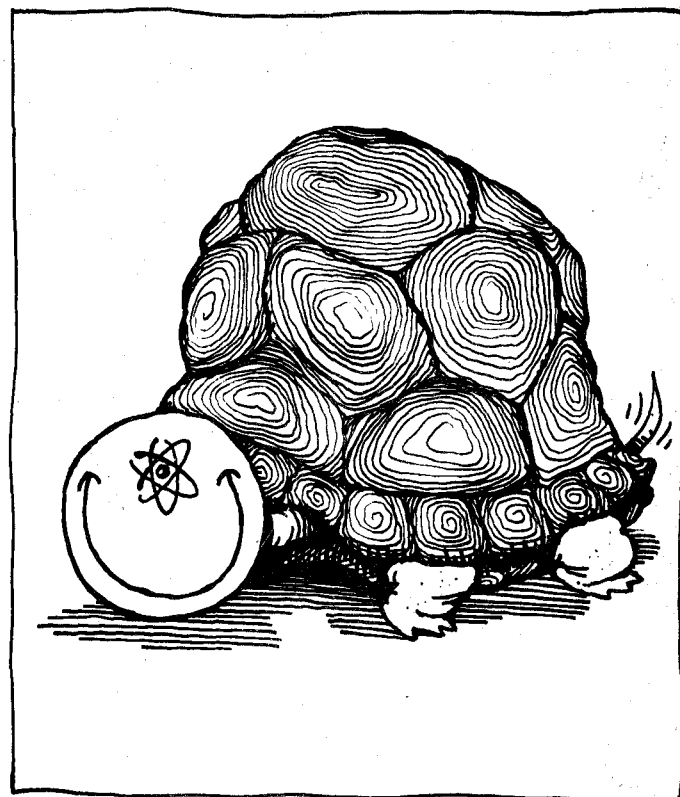
In and out of Congress it is agreed that the nuclear power industry has matured over the past thirty years and that

Price-Anderson's liability cap should be raised. The issue is, By how much? Representative John Seiberling, an Ohio Democrat who supports nuclear power, would like to see the cap removed, or raised to at least \$20 billion. He is concerned about the industry's "uneven safety record" and says that Price-Anderson has created a false sense of security. "If the industry took the full risk," he says, "wouldn't it take every conceivable action to improve safety consciousness in order to make the risk minimal?"

The Heritage Foundation calls Price-Anderson "essentially only a subsidy" that provides utilities with insurance at less than market price, making electricity from nuclear power cheaper than it would be in a free market. Others say that if the industry had borne the full insurance burden, it would have gone under long ago.

"No other industry has been so thoroughly insulated from financial risk," Jill Lancelot, of the National Taxpayers Union, told the House Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment. "The Federal government has an important role to play in the nation's nuclear power program, and this is assuring safety in the nuclear industry, not shifting the risks of nuclear technology from the industry to the public."

Virtually all discussion of Price-Anderson has focused on its application to the commercial power industry, but the law also sets a \$500 million liability limit on accidents at the government's nuclear weapons plants. The Department of Energy, which oversees bomb production at its vast complex of facilities across the country, says Price-Anderson is "indispensable" to the nation's nuclear defense. More than 60,000 D.O.E. contractors, subcontractors and vendors are shielded by the law. Now the department wants the law ex-



DRAWINGS BY TONY AUTH

S.K. Levin writes on technology and the military.

tended to cover accidents arising out of the transport and disposal of its highly radioactive nuclear wastes.

Price-Anderson was passed as an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, which called for the rapid commercial development of atomic power. Private utilities had convinced Congress that they, not the Federal government, should develop nuclear power to generate electricity. Yet, like the Manhattan Project contractors who built nuclear bombs a decade earlier, the power companies were reluctant to assume the substantial risks involved and demanded blanket indemnity. Congress, concerned about maintaining U.S. leadership in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, complied. But unlike the limited protection the government had given the early bomb contractors, under which they could be held liable if they were grossly negligent, the new legislation provided absolute indemnity, regardless of fault.

Robert Meltz, a legislative attorney with the Library of Congress's Congressional Research Service in Washington, says the nuclear industry's protection is unique. In the few industries that have been granted a liability cap, such as those engaged in the manufacture of swine-flu vaccine or the disposal of hazardous substances, the cap disappears in instances of gross negligence or bad faith.

During the 1956 Congressional hearings on nuclear liability, Tom Pickett of the National Coal Association argued that government should subsidize the nuclear power industry only until it became competitive. Representative Melvin Price, who co-sponsored the Price-Anderson legisla-

tion, agreed: "Almost everyone has set a time limit on the matter of government indemnity."

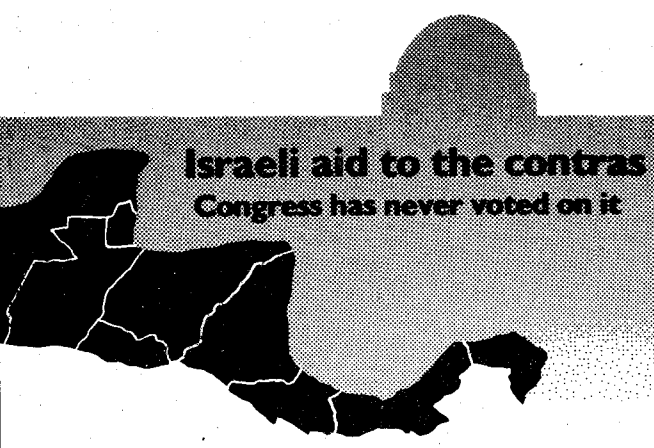
Today the industry contends that special treatment is still warranted, but the Nuclear Regulatory Commission isn't so sure. In December 1983 the N.R.C. recommended reforms in Price-Anderson to shift the burden of liability for an accident from the victims to the industry. Specifically, the commission proposed spreading industry's damage payments over a number of years until all valid claims were paid. If an accident occurred today, private insurance would pay up to \$160 million in damages, and after that each of the nation's 101 nuclear power plants would pay up to \$5 million. Under the N.R.C.'s 1983 proposal, after the insurance money was exhausted, every reactor would be assessed \$10 million a year until all the victims were compensated. This "annual cap" on the utilities' liability, N.R.C. commissioner James Asselstine explained, would fully protect the public without jeopardizing the industry's financial health. The \$10 million assessment, the N.R.C. noted, would amount to about 2 percent of a typical plant's annual operating costs.

But in 1985 the N.R.C. reversed itself, after heavy lobbying by the utilities. Asselstine testified before the energy subcommittee that a utility representative had warned all five commissioners that if the N.R.C. continued to support an annual cap, industry would use its influence to scuttle Price-Anderson altogether, which some observers say could mean the end of the nuclear power industry. If Congress does not extend the act, reactors licensed before 1987 will retain the present liability cap, but reactors coming on line after 1987 will have to bear the full burden of liability. Observers say that without Price-Anderson's protection, no new reactors would be built.

Michael Faden, who follows nuclear energy issues for the Union of Concerned Scientists, says that a majority of the commissioners succumbed to industry's demands out of fear that if the industry goes "belly up" they'll be the ones blamed. Faden, however, dismisses assertions that an annual cap would sound the death knell for commercial nuclear power. He sees it instead as a way to restore investor and public confidence by providing the industry with an incentive to improve safety.

Asselstine, who still supports the annual cap, says he finds it difficult to reconcile industry's reluctance to accept financial risk given, as he says, its repeated assurances that "a nuclear accident causing *any* injury to the public is so remote as to be incredible."

The industry argues that the annual cap, offered in legislation by Senator Robert Stafford, or no cap at all, which Representative Seiberling and Senator Gary Hart tried to promote, could result in a wave of bankruptcies and foreclose the nuclear option. Richard Schmalz of the American Nuclear Insurers told Congress that without a one-time absolute cap there could be "a total or near-total collapse of the private insurance market." The Atomic Industrial Forum, an industry group, says the utilities are unable to acquire more public-liability insurance. But Ron Landsman, an attorney representing the National Insurance Consumer Organization, a public-interest group, counters that the



Israeli aid to the contras
Congress has never voted on it

yet every time Congress has voted down contra aid, Israel has increased its involvement with the contras. Since the late 70s Israel's presence in Central America has followed the same seesaw pattern, supplying Guatemala, El Salvador, Somoza and his heirs, the contras, whatever the US denies.

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nuclear insurers are simply operating a cartel, which has precluded other companies from offering the utilities more insurance at higher or lower rates, depending on how safe an individual reactor is.

While asserting that they can't buy more insurance to protect the public, nuclear utilities have managed to acquire greater and greater amounts of insurance against their own property losses from a nuclear accident. Keki Kehoe of the nonprofit Environmental Policy Institute says that the utilities buy about \$1 billion worth of insurance per plant, for which the industry will pay some \$20 billion in premiums over the course of the reactors' lifetime.

Like the commercial nuclear power industry, the Department of Energy opposes any significant increase in its liability. Yet it too claims an outstanding safety record. Kehoe finds the D.O.E.'s stance especially worrisome, because a Congressional committee recently rejected an amendment to Price-Anderson, offered by Senator Howard Metzenbaum, that would have allowed the department to recover damages from contractors found guilty of gross negligence or willful misconduct. "What disturbs us," Kehoe says, "is that you have a Federal policy saying it's perfectly all right for a D.O.E. contractor to be grossly negligent and have the taxpayers pick up the tab."

CONCEALING THE HAZARDS

Lewis Strauss, a Wall Street investment banker who became chair of the Atomic Energy Commission, told Congress in 1957 that "the experts all agree" the chance of a major accident occurring at a nuclear reactor is exceedingly small and that reactors contain every conceivable device to insure their safety.

In 1965, when Congress was deliberating on whether to extend Price-Anderson's unique protection, the A.E.C.'s new chair, Glenn Seaborg, who received the Nobel Prize for discovering plutonium, reiterated Strauss's confident views. Defenses against reactor hazards "permeate the basic design of every component and system," he said.

Both men were lying.

As Daniel Ford of the Union of Concerned Scientists learned from studying hundreds of secret A.E.C. documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, the commission suppressed virtually all data contradicting the official position that nuclear reactors are totally safe. In his book, *The Cult of the Atom: The Secret Papers of the Atomic Energy Commission*, Ford writes that scientists who found significant flaws in reactor design or reactor safeguard systems were pressured into silence and studies exposing numerous serious problems were suppressed. Meanwhile, the A.E.C. continued to issue licenses for ever-larger nuclear reactors, some near urban areas. Here are some of the details from Ford's investigation:

§ The A.E.C., which promoted and regulated nuclear energy for nearly two decades, adopted what it called a hands-off policy toward the industry, letting utilities regulate themselves in "good faith." The commission summarily approved manufacturers' reactor designs, paying scant attention to detail.

§ The commission's independent Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards (A.C.R.S.), established under Price-Anderson to examine the hazards of nuclear power, recommended a broad range of safety correctives, but the A.E.C. ignored most of them. The industry repeatedly compromised safety, with commission approval, to keep costs down.

§ The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, founded in 1946 as Congress's watchdog over nuclear energy, was closely tied to the industry. One of its members once called for "burning the [A.C.R.S.] at the stake" because its safety recommendations were slowing the government's program to get "kilowatts to the people."

§ Numerous safety studies were deep-sixed. In 1964, when Congress was about to consider reauthorizing Price-Anderson, the Joint Committee asked the A.E.C. to update a 1957 study on the consequences of a reactor accident. "Great care should be exercised . . . to avoid establishing and/or reinforcing the popular notion that reactors are unsafe," an A.E.C. official admonished those preparing the update. The new study nevertheless concluded that property damage from an accident at a 1,000-megawatt reactor, the size then being proposed, might be forty times greater than the \$7 billion figure indicated in the 1957 study. It estimated that as many as 45,000 people might be killed, compared with the earlier assessment of 3,400. It warned that 1,000-megawatt reactors held more long-lived radioactive material than would be produced by the detonation of a thousand Hiroshima-size bombs. The study never saw the light of day. A.E.C. chair Seaborg wrote Congress a short, ambiguous letter stating that the industry still needed Price-Anderson's liability protection. The following year the commission licensed thirty 1,000-megawatt reactors.

§ The A.E.C. also attempted to suppress evidence indicating the unreliability of emergency core-cooling systems. In 1971, years after word first leaked out about repeated failures during tests, the commission was forced to hold a public hearing. A.E.C. witnesses were told to "never disagree with established policy." But a number of them did, and the hearing, which the commission expected would run six weeks, lasted nearly two years. A.E.C. experts testified that the current state of knowledge on emergency core-cooling systems in twenty-nine major technical areas was incomplete, unverified, inadequate or imprecise, and that during tests the system flopped. When the hearing was concluded, the A.E.C. stuck to its original assessment: the systems were reliable.

S.K.L.

Kehoe, like most other critics of Price-Anderson, doesn't wish to see the law repealed, because it provides a mechanism for public compensation that would otherwise not be available. If properly amended, she says, it would protect the public and inject a necessary amount of accountability into the nuclear power and nuclear weapons industries.

The powerful and aggressive nuclear lobby, however, has already succeeded in winning over a majority of the N.R.C. commissioners and in persuading members of Congressional subcommittees considering changes in Price-Anderson to surrender on critical reforms. If the United States is going to have nuclear power—and in the short run that seems a certainty given it provides 16 percent of our electricity—the utilities should at least be adequately insured. Forcing the nuclear industry to accept the full burden of responsibility would doubtless compel greater attention to safety and reduce the chances of a death-dealing accident, which, despite all the industry's pleadings to the contrary, is likely, if not inevitable. □

■ WHY NOT THE WORST?

The Reagan Judges

HERMAN SCHWARTZ

“Why not the worst?” That seems to be this Administration's motto, at least as far as some of its recent nominations to the Federal judiciary are concerned.

Daniel Manion, whom the Senate Judiciary Committee rejected for a seat on the United States Court of Appeals in Chicago on May 8, is just one example. Manion is clearly unqualified to serve on a court that ranks just below the Supreme Court in the judicial structure. He has handled almost no litigation of any complexity, shows no intellectual distinction, has written no scholarly or any other articles and in his briefs displays an embarrassing awkwardness in using the language, a serious handicap for an appeals judge, who spends most of the time writing opinions. The Chicago Council of Lawyers found him unqualified.

Manion's inadequacies go beyond legal ability. Both in prior statements and at his confirmation hearing he made clear his hostility to judicial protection for constitutional rights, the most important obligation he would have as appellate court judge. He has opposed applying the Bill of Rights to state and local officials, advocated stripping the Supreme Court of jurisdiction to enforce constitutional rights and praised the John Birch Society for “being on the front line of the fight for constitutional freedom.” He also called a book by Birch Society spokesman Representative

Larry McDonald, which attacked *Brown v. Board of Education*, “one of the finest summaries of the history of our country—what has happened in the past, what has happened to us and what we have to do about it.” And while in the Indiana Legislature he co-sponsored a bill to authorize posting the Ten Commandments in classrooms, even though he knew the Supreme Court had struck down an almost identical statute a few months earlier.

Although Manion failed to get a committee majority, which would ordinarily kill a nomination, Republican Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania and Democrat Dennis DeConcini of Arizona, both of whom had voted against the nomination, agreed to report it to the full Senate without recommendation. It will probably be voted on this month, and the count is likely to be very close.

Manion is not unique. Since January 1985 half the Reagan nominees for appellate court posts have received a “qualified” approval rating, the lowest one, by the notoriously-demanding American Bar Association's Standing Committee on the Federal Judiciary. Of those, 71 percent were found “unqualified” by a minority of the committee. During the Carter Administration, only 5.1 percent of the candidates received such a mixed evaluation.

Consider also the following judicial nominees:

§ Eric Bruggink, who tried to exclude from Alabama public schools literary anthologies that used the terms “God,” “Almighty God,” “Oh, God,” “My God,” “hell,” “damn,” “What in God's name do they want from me?” and “for godsake.” He also tried to ban Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House* and Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* as expressions of “radical feminism,” and an essay by Marian Anderson which he said was “bitter about racial prejudice.”

§ Jefferson B. Sessions, who called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Council of Churches “un-American” and “Communist-inspired” organizations that were “trying to force civil rights down the throats of people.” Sessions once said he thought the Ku Klux Klan was “O.K. until I learned they smoke pot.”

§ Lino Graglia, a law professor, who told a Texas community it was “under no obligation” to obey Federal court busing orders, who argued that white parents should be allowed to evade Federal court orders by sham custody arrangements, who referred to black children as “pickaninies” and who condemned judicially created constitutional safeguards for individual rights as “just bad ideas.” Even the A.B.A.'s committee found him unqualified.

§ Sid Fitzwater, who posted intimidating and misleading signs in minority districts in Dallas warning against fraudulent voting, which drew a letter of complaint from the normally indifferent Justice Department.

§ William Harvey, who was nominated to be chair of the Legal Services Corporation Board of Directors in March 1982. He immediately set out to undermine the corporation's law reform and class action activities, and an irate Senate committee refused to confirm him. Shortly thereafter, evidence came to light raising serious questions about ex-

Herman Schwartz is a professor of law at the American University Law School in Washington and a consultant to People for the American Way.

penses and other allowances he claimed from the corporation. He has also attacked the Federal administrative agencies as imposing "utterly idiotic and neosocialistic notions of state control upon the society." He has withdrawn his name from consideration but may try again.

§ J. Harvie Wilkinson, whose only experience practicing law when he was nominated to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, at the age of 39, was sixteen months in a policy-making post at the Justice Department.

§ Former Senator James Buckley, whose legal experience before being appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia consisted of four years as an associate at a law firm more than twenty-five years ago. He had made one appearance in court, on behalf of some students from Yale University. The court on which he now sits is second only to the Supreme Court with respect to the number and importance of Federal cases it handles.

By contrast, many highly qualified nominees have been rejected by this Administration, primarily on ideological grounds. Judith Whittaker, first in her law school class and described as outstanding by the Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, was turned down for a seat on that court because right-wingers objected to her support for the Equal Rights Amendment. Former U.S. Deputy Solicitor General Andrew Frey, a brilliant advocate for law enforcement before the Supreme Court, had made a few small contributions to Planned Parenthood and a gun control group. As a result, some right-wing Senators successfully pressured the Administration to withdraw his nomination for a seat on the appellate court in D.C.

So far, Manion is the only nominee to have been refused approval by the Senate Judiciary Committee. The Senate has rejected no Reagan appointee, though more than 40 percent of that body voted against Fitzwater and Alex Kozinski, who was appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. (Kozinski drew such strong opposition because of his performance as special counsel to the Merit

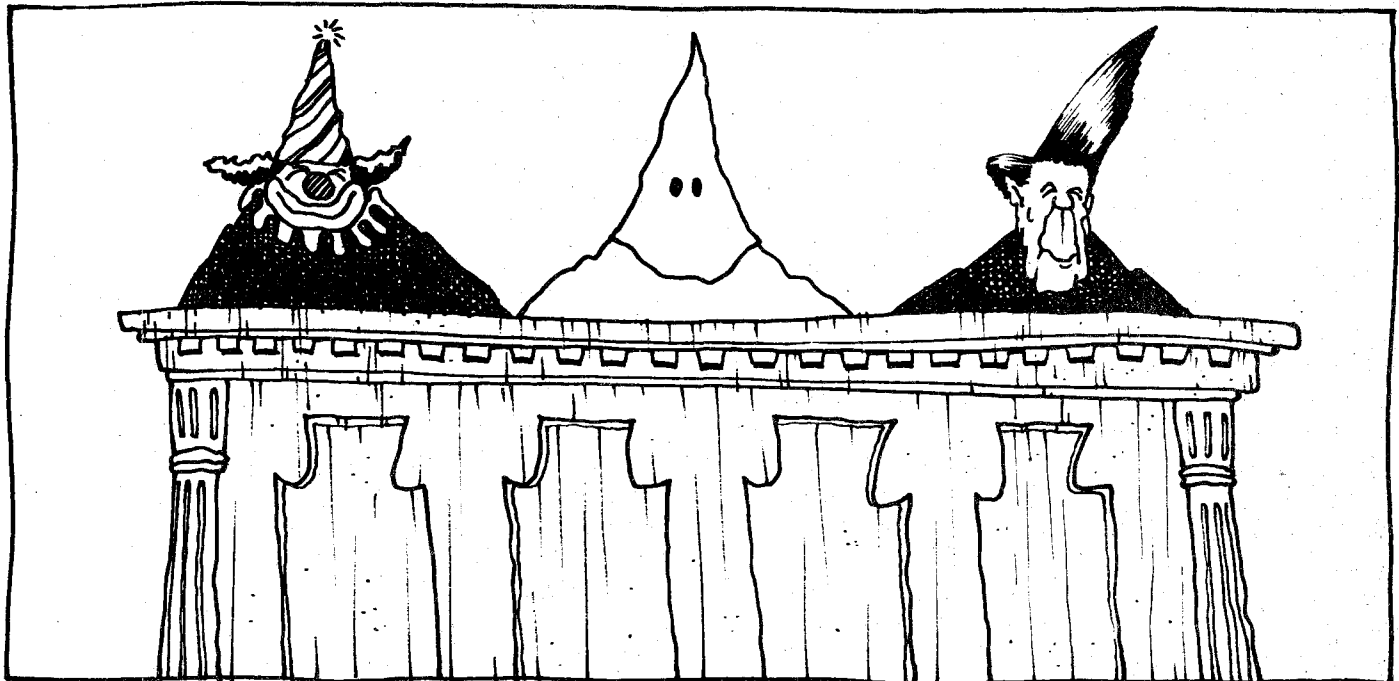
Systems Protection Board, where he reportedly converted an agency for protecting whistleblowers and other employees into an instrument of employee abuse.) Votes on Manion and Sessions are still pending, and Graglia may be renominated. Senators have insisted on evidence of a "smoking gun"—some scandalous wrongdoing—but that is rarely available. The investigatory resources of those opposed to a nominee are usually meager, and the A.B.A. committee's investigations leave a lot to be desired.

Appointment to a Federal judgeship means a lifetime position of power that is largely accountable to no one. The burden of proof is therefore on the nominee, not the opponents. The nominee must convince the Senate that he or she has high intellectual capacity, the ability to write well, personal integrity, an open-mindedness that recognizes no one has a monopoly on the truth, and fidelity to existing laws, regardless of agreement or disagreement with specific decisions.

A nominee must also have a degree of maturity. Judges deal with some of the most intractable problems in our society, and only years of experience with the pitfalls and tragedies of human existence, and with the need to accommodate deep differences, can provide the wisdom and humility to judge wisely.

Finally, there is the vexing question of political philosophy. Although a nominee's liberalism or conservatism should play no role, there must be an adherence to certain fundamentals. A nominee who thinks that "separate but equal" should be the law, or that Congress's power to regulate interstate commerce should be narrowly construed, should look for other work.

One of the obligatory basics is an unequivocal commitment to what Justice Lewis Powell, echoing John Marshall and Thomas Jefferson, has said is "irreplaceable": the Federal courts' "protection [for] . . . the constitutional rights and liberties of individual citizens and minority groups against oppressive or discriminatory government ac-



tion." Although the Supreme Court has decided numerous fundamental constitutional matters, many questions remain unanswered, and appellate judges, in whose courts so many constitutional issues get their resolution, have a lot to say about how those questions will be decided.

The Senate has an obligation to insist that a nominee convincingly demonstrate a capacity and a zeal for fulfilling that irreplaceable component of the job. When nothing in the record shows such a commitment, eleventh-hour recantations and promises that the judicial nominee will henceforth energetically protect constitutional rights are not enough. Once a judge is sworn in, the promises become unenforceable. □

■ SMALL TOWNS IN TROUBLE

The Rise of the Rural Ghetto

OSHA DAVIDSON

A blight that is economic rather than botanical is transforming small towns in the Midwest into rural ghettos—pockets of poverty, unemployment and despair. Although its spread is receiving little attention from the press and even less from politicians, it will be affecting people's lives there well into the next century.

The phrase "rural ghetto" is used by Michael Jacobsen, an assistant professor of social work at the University of Iowa. Jacobsen cautions against using the simplistic phrase "farm crisis" to characterize the region's problem. "It's not really a *farm* crisis at all," he says. "It's a rural community crisis." The forced liquidations played up in the media represent only one aspect of the general rural decline. The depressed agricultural economy is triggering a series of complex reactions that are devastating small towns.

The drop in farm income translates almost immediately into a drop in retail sales for local businesses. Predictably, businesses that sell mostly to farmers are having the worst time, but all are hurting. Retail sales in Iowa's rural communities have slipped an average of 25 percent in the past decade. The decline in sales caused by reduced farm income has, in turn, set off a record number of business failures throughout the state.

David Ostendorf, director of the rural advocacy group Prairiefire, has been watching the effects of the depressed farm economy on small communities for the past several years. "For every five to seven farms that go out of business, you can figure on one business in town folding," he says. "And when even one business closes in a small community it creates a ripple effect that's felt throughout town. Each job lost means there is that much less money cir-

culating in the community, being spent at the supermarket, the hardware store or the barber shop. When sales drop at these other businesses, some are forced to close, and that means more lost jobs and less income to be spread around."

The closures sweep through a small town like a combine through a cornfield. As the local tax base erodes, schools are forced to consolidate, which destroys more jobs. This can be the deathblow for many small towns where the school is a major employer.

At that point, says Jacobsen, the transformation from small town to rural ghetto accelerates. "Anyone who can move out of town will go," he says. "There's nothing left there—no jobs, few stores and no community services to speak of. It's certainly no place for children, which is ironic because many of these people moved to small towns precisely because they seemed like good places to raise kids."

Not everyone is able to leave town, however. According to Jacobsen, most of those left behind fit into one of three main groups. First, there are the elderly, people who have lived in the area all their lives and who are unable physically, economically and emotionally to leave. Many of them are retired farmers and most are living on Social Security benefits. The only equity they have is in their homes, for which there is no market.

Elderly people in decaying towns face a variety of problems, including the inaccessibility of health care. By the time a town reaches the final stages of disintegration, most doctors, nurses and pharmacists have moved on to more prosperous communities. Many old people find it difficult to drive twenty or thirty miles to the closest doctor or pharmacist. For the poorest of them, it is impossible.

The second group populating the new rural ghetto consists of unemployed or underemployed young people. Most of them never attended college; many dropped out in high school. They are now stuck in a town with no industry and few businesses.

"Some people think that these kids will simply move down to the Sun Belt and find work," says Jacobsen. "But that's just not happening. When you've lived all your life in a small Midwestern town you're not apt to pick up and move to an industrial center in a different part of the country. And there are a limited number of jobs in the Sun Belt anyway."

The third group is the welfare immigrants. Jacobsen says these people are playing an increasingly important role in the transformation of small towns.

"We're seeing an influx of people from larger cities who are dependent on public assistance and who are moving to small towns to take advantage of cheaper housing there," he says. "Moving from a larger city can seem to be a very attractive alternative to a single mother on Aid to Families with Dependent Children. She can rent an entire house for \$100 to \$150, compared with the \$300 or more she was paying for a small apartment in the city. The problem is that once she moves from Dubuque to North Branch, she's trapped there, with no hope of finding work and getting off welfare."

Because the word "ghetto" has traditionally referred to an urban phenomenon, it may be hard for many people to

Osha Davidson is a journalist living in Iowa. He is writing a book about the death of a rural community.

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take Jacobsen's warnings seriously. But there is ample evidence that the sorts of problems found in city ghettos—poverty and malnutrition, unemployment and chronic dependence on welfare, a sense of desperation and a resultant rise in the level of violence—are now becoming common in their rural counterparts.

Last year the number of farm families in Iowa receiving food stamps soared by 400 percent. Social workers say that cases involving spouse and child abuse are on the upswing, and Iowa Youth and Shelter Services reports a sharp rise in the number of rural runaways.

Joanne Dvorak, a mental health professional with the Family Services Agency in eastern Iowa, has seen an increase in violent incidents among rural families as they struggle to survive. She has also observed with alarm the increase in suicides in the area, as some people simply give up the fight. "A lot of people, on the farm and in town, are pretty distressed," she says. "And you can't blame them; they're watching their communities and their lives disintegrate around them."

According to a study by Larry Swanson, an economist and the former director of the Great Plains Office of Policy Studies at the University of Nebraska, all rural Nebraska communities with a current population of under 1,000 will be barely surviving by the 1990s if Federal policy stays on its present course. Swanson and other experts say that any long-term solution must include two components: a Federal program that effectively manages farm production, ending the chronic overproduction that leads to reduced farm income; and a revision of the U.S. tax code, terminating agriculture's status as a tax-sheltered industry.

Don Ralston, co-director of the Nebraska-based Center for Rural Affairs, agrees that the tax code encourages farm expansion and benefits large farms at the expense of small and middle-sized ones. Ralston points out that a large number of small and middle-sized farms are necessary to the health of Midwestern rural communities. The viability of businesses in small towns depends on the number of people living and buying in the area, not on the number of acres farmed. As one agriculture researcher put it, "One person only needs one haircut."

Little is being done at the state level to help small communities. "Sometimes I honestly think that the state govern-

ment in Iowa has written off small towns," says Jacobsen. "Nobody says that outright, but when you read the proposals coming out of the State Legislature, you can see that they're just not dealing with what's happening."

As politicians profess a deep and abiding love for "heartland values," thousands of small towns spread out across the Midwestern countryside are left to wither on the vine. □

Strange History

(Continued From Front Cover)

amid the ongoing controversy, little has been written about the history of K.A.L. Does it cast any light on the still murky events that occurred over the Sea of Japan?

The most striking fact to emerge from my five-month investigation of K.A.L.'s past is the persistently close ties between the airline, South Korean intelligence and the military establishments of South Korea and the United States. Information obtained from several sources suggests that K.A.L. performed missions for the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, carried out spy flights in the 1960s, conveyed weapons to Iran and assisted the Seoul regime in bribing Japanese politicians. Efforts to obtain comments from K.A.L. on these charges were in vain [see box on page 827]. Although such activities do not explain why Flight 007 flew over the Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin Island on the night of August 31, 1983, they do reveal a pattern of unorthodox corporate conduct.

The transformation of K.A.L. from a poorly run government-owned company to, by its claim, one of the world's top-ten carriers, and Harry Cho's rise to financial power (a 1983 *Forbes* survey listed him as one of South Korea's wealthiest men), stand as fascinating case studies of how to succeed in business in modern South Korea, where the dividing lines between the corporate, political, intelligence and military worlds are sometimes blurred. K.A.L. and the Hanjin Group merged on February 28, 1969, when Hanjin took over the airline, which had been losing up to \$1 million annually. Shortly before the merger *The Korea Times* reported that "rumors have been circulating for months" that the government of President Park Chung Hee "plans to transfer K.A.L. to a local financial group in a preferential" deal. "It was a very, very special sweetheart deal," said a former government official close to the negotiations. "The fact that they were the ones to get the airline is one indication of how close they were to the Park regime," said James Klemstine, who was an economic officer in the U.S. Embassy in Seoul at the time of the merger. "The government was not going to allow it to fail. It was a nice gift." Harry Cho was named president, and his brother, Cho Choong Kun—known as Charley—vice president.

Before they acquired K.A.L. the Cho brothers made sev-

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RUSSIA, SIBERIA, MONGOLIA		
JULY 14	18 DAYS	\$ 2430
RUSSIA, SIBERIA, CENTRAL ASIA		
DEPARTURES JUNE JULY AUG.	15 DAYS	\$ 1604
MOSCOW, LENINGRAD, KIEV, ODESSA, MINSK, PRAGUE.		
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David Corn is a freelance journalist living in New York City. Research for this article was made possible by a grant from The Nation Institute.

eral fortunes from a string of U.S. military contracts. During the Korean War, Hanjin Transportation hauled drinking water to U.S. troops. After the war, Hanjin thrived on business sparked by U.S. aid to South Korea. In 1965 the United States signed an agreement with South Korea promising \$305.4 million in expanded Vietnam-related business opportunities for local firms through 1970 in exchange for an increase in the number of South Korean troops in Vietnam; the Cho brothers were among those who cashed in, winning lucrative contracts with the U.S. military. Hanjin earned the reputation of being willing to deliver ammunition to areas where other haulers were reluctant to go. A professor of economics at Seoul National University recalled that "Vietnam became the basis of Hanjin's economic strength" and enabled the company to buy K.A.L.

K.A.L.'s relationship with the South Korean government goes back to January 9, 1962, when the junta led by Park Chung Hee announced that a state-run airline would be established within a year. The privately owned Korean National Airline, which had been operating since 1951, was in financial trouble. It had been started with the help of the Civil Air Transport, a wholly owned proprietary of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. In his study of the Civil Air Transport, *Perilous Missions*, William M. Leary writes that it provided aircraft crews, maintenance and credit for the purchase of gasoline and other supplies to K.N.A. According to Leary, the Civil Air Transport's interest in K.N.A. waned as the airline's financial losses grew. By 1962, K.N.A.'s debt exceeded \$800,000. In November the Park government shut down the airline.

Korean Air Lines' first years were not banner ones. Its only jetliner, a DC-9, was once put out of commission for several months after a flight attendant left a lavatory faucet running, which ruined the plane's electrical system. In 1966, *The New York Times* referred to the operation as "one of the world's smallest state-run airlines." But even then, with only five planes, K.A.L. was carrying out missions for the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. In June 1967 the K.C.I.A. kidnapped more than twenty exiled anti-Park intellectuals from West Germany and other European countries; according to several sources, K.A.L. was used to bring them back to South Korea. A nonintelligence associate of Kim Hyung Wook, who was director of the K.C.I.A. from 1963 to 1969, said that Kim told him K.A.L. planes flew over North Korea and occasionally the Soviet Union for intelligence-gathering purposes. (Kim left South Korea for self-imposed exile in the United States in 1973. Six years later, while in France, he disappeared under mysterious circumstances in what was widely believed to be a K.C.I.A. operation.) In a 1983 article in *The Boston Globe*, reporter Fred Kaplan noted, "A former US Army intelligence officer remembers 'very clearly' being told in 1967 by an Air Force intelligence instructor that 'side-view cameras'—which take big, very clear pictures from long distances—were occasionally attached to commercial airliners flying along sensitive borders, and that Korean Air Lines was among those companies."

After Harry and Charley Cho took over K.A.L., in 1969,

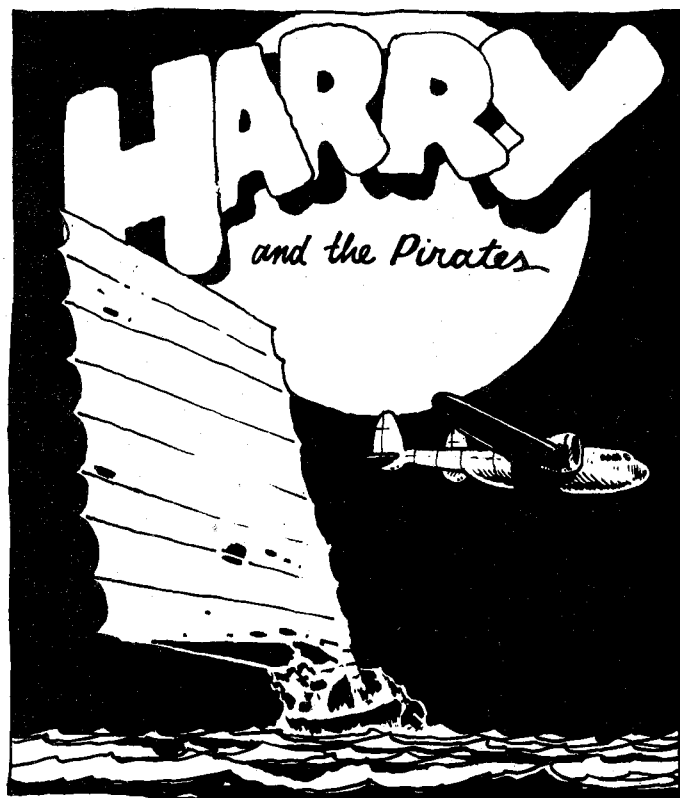
they became an "integral part of the [South Korean] power structure," said a former U.S. intelligence agent stationed in Seoul, who requested anonymity:

They cooperated fully in anything the government wanted. K.A.L. functioned as an arm of the K.C.I.A. If the K.C.I.A. wanted to plant agents in the United States, they would be given phony documentation and brought over on K.A.L. as K.A.L. staffers. The K.C.I.A. used K.A.L. pilots to smuggle money, operational supplies and other things.

According to a South Korean lawyer familiar with Hanjin's operations, "K.A.L. is a means of transportation that is reliable for [the K.C.I.A.]. If it is asked to cooperate in matters of security, it can't say no."

The airline developed other operational links with the intelligence structure. One company employee told me that when South Korean agents fly to the United States, the K.A.L. office at their destination is notified by telex that a "Mr. So and So from, say, Room 201 of the Blue House is arriving on such and such a date. Please see to him." (The Blue House is the President's official residence.) A K.A.L. representative meets the plane and escorts the agent through customs and immigration. The airline employee also said that one or two government security officers, who usually wear company uniforms, are assigned to international flights, and that every plane carries a weapons box containing two or three guns, hand grenades, mace and chloroform.

South Korean intelligence has also used K.A.L. as a front in courting prominent foreigners, according to the former associate of K.C.I.A. director Kim. He explained that intelligence would request the airline to invite a foreign journalist, businessman or official to South Korea, luring him or her with free transportation and hotel accommodations and then acting as host during the visit.



NATION REPRINTS

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K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It

This issue raises serious questions about the U.S. role in the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Author David Pearson's study argues that U.S. authorities at the highest level knew the airliner was off course much earlier than they have admitted, and that the questions raised by the official versions of the story can only be resolved by a Congressional inquiry. (August 18/25, 1984)

K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions

This issue brings our 1984 report up to date. With contributions by David Pearson, John Keppel and David Corn, it is the culmination of an intensive investigation. The authors analyze new Japanese radar data, discuss a Nation Institute-sponsored review, by aviation experts, of the final airline transmission and describe the government's efforts to obstruct investigation. (August 17/24, 1985)

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Another instance of K.A.L. collaboration with the South Korean government occurred in December 1974, when George Ogle, a U.S. citizen and missionary involved with the opposition to the Park regime, was arrested and deported. After being seized by plainclothes government agents, Ogle told me, he was taken to Kimpo International Airport, driven straight to the airfield and escorted aboard a K.A.L. flight to the United States via Japan. That was not unexpected, but when the flight arrived in Japan a K.A.L. flight attendant physically prevented him from getting off, forcing him to fly on to Honolulu. "The K.A.L. attendant said his orders were not to let me off the plane," Ogle recalled. He suggested that the Park government feared he would stir up a fuss in Japan.

During the 1970s, K.A.L. prospered under the stewardship of the Cho brothers. Within eight months of its takeover by Hanjin the airline more than doubled its passenger traffic. In the years that followed, K.A.L.'s fleet expanded steadily, with purchases occasionally financed by loans from the U.S. Export-Import Bank. In 1972 the airline initiated passenger service to Los Angeles and Honolulu. It became well known for its discount fares. Indeed, they were so low that competitors charged that K.A.L. was subsidized by the government. One critic told *Business Week* in 1979 that the subsidies ran as high as \$25 million a year. Harry Cho denied receiving government handouts, but a former South Korean government official familiar with K.A.L. operations told me: "If the airline was losing money overseas, the government subsidized some portion of the losses. That's why K.A.L. grew up fast—government subsidies." He added: "K.A.L. was a special favor to Hanjin. Many corporations started the same way. That means you have got to say yes to the President." According to the South Korean lawyer, "Park did not hesitate to call up his business friends when the need arose."

The Cho brothers apparently heeded their President's call after opposition leader Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped from his hotel room in Tokyo by K.C.I.A. agents in August 1973 and released five days later near his home in Seoul. This highly publicized abduction touched off a furor in Japan, and, according to several sources, Harry Cho dispensed money to Japanese politicians at the behest of the Park regime, presumably to smooth ruffled feathers. The former government official confirmed that Cho "was used undercover by Park" for political payoffs in Japan. And Kaplan reported in *The Boston Globe* that in the early to mid-1970s, Charley Cho "passed money back and forth between the KCIA and Japanese businessmen, legislators and opinion leaders." A State Department official told Kaplan that the money flowed most heavily after the kidnapping.

Donald Ranard, who was chief of the U.S. State Department's Office of Korean Affairs in the early 1970s, told the Tokyo *Asahi Shimbun* that between April 1970 and November 1974 he saw U.S. intelligence reports indicating a vast South Korean campaign to distribute money to Japanese politicians. Cash payments were made by the Park regime, Ranard said, to two former Prime Ministers, Nobusuke

Kishi and Kakuei Tanaka, as well as to candidates for the Diet, presumably to promote South Korea's political interests. The bribes were often dispensed by K.C.I.A. agents stationed in Japan, he said. But the "Korean name most frequently mentioned in the secret reports," the newspaper stated, was Cho Choong Hoon, the president of K.A.L.

The Cho brothers were a natural choice for making payoffs in Japan. K.A.L. flew there regularly and had a decade-old business relationship with Japan Air Lines and All Nippon Airways. During the Vietnam War, J.A.L. lent some of its idle planes to K.A.L. to carry troops, workers and matériel to Vietnam, according to Tokyo-based journalist John G. Roberts, writing in *Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*. The Cho brothers maintained close links to two right-wing power brokers in Japan, both members of the "Korea Lobby"—Nobusuke Kishi and Kenji Osano, a wealthy industrialist known as the Howard Hughes of Japan [see Roberts, "America and the Making of Japan Inc.," *The Nation*, February 13, 1982]. Harry Cho and Kishi worked together as officers of the Korea-Japan Tourist Development Corporation, a joint venture that in the early 1970s built hotels in both countries.

It was Osano who had arranged for J.A.L. to lease the aircraft used in Vietnam, Roberts reported. Brian Cook, an official with World Airlines in the 1960s and 1970s who handled leasing negotiations with K.A.L., said that Osano provided Hanjin with equipment it needed for its profitable operation in Vietnam. In 1972, Osano bought about a 10 percent interest in K.A.L., according to several sources.

The former South Korean official suggested that President Park encouraged the sale to win political capital in Japan. On August 24, 1973, amid the continuing public agitation over the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping, President Park awarded South Korea's Supreme Medal to Osano, in recognition of his contribution to K.A.L., according to *Ampo*.

Throughout the 1970s, K.A.L. added routes to Europe and the Middle East. In 1977 the French government awarded Harry Cho the Order of National Merit Commander, the nation's second-highest civilian award. Cho was cited for his "unselfish and invaluable contribution to furthering friendly relations between the two countries." In February 1979, K.A.L. agreed to buy ten 747 jumbo jets from Boeing, with options to purchase another eight. At the time, the \$1.3 billion deal was the second-largest sale in aviation history.

K.A.L.'s earlier relations with Boeing were tinged with scandal. According to an April 27, 1979, article in *The Wall Street Journal*, the U.S. Federal Trade Commission prepared draft complaints asserting that sometime between 1971 and 1975, Boeing paid \$3.5 million to officers of K.A.L. to persuade them to buy two 747s and one 707. "The payments were made by Boeing Co. through a Japanese consulting firm," the F.T.C. draft said. K.A.L. denied the charge, and the commission dropped the complaint after Boeing signed a consent order prohibiting future payoffs.

K.A.L. was involved in a few other mini-scandals. On September 21, 1974, South Korean police arrested Charley Cho, then the vice president of the airline, on charges of diverting \$330,000 in company funds to buy real estate

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| Sat. July 5 | 1 p.m. workshops
3 p.m. "HOW AMERICA CELEBRATES THE 100th ANNIVERSARY OF THE STATUE OF LIBERTY."
7 p.m. Panel "THE NEW PATRIOTISM IN AMERICA." |
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abroad. In 1975 a U.S. grand jury investigated K.A.L. and two other airlines for offering kickbacks to U.S. travel agents. In 1976, K.A.L. was one of thirteen airlines found guilty of providing illegal rebates to passengers and freight customers in the United States. That same year the Japanese Transport Agency warned K.A.L. and five other airlines about heavy discounting of their trans-Pacific routes.

Prior to the downing of Flight 007 over the Sea of Japan the airline received its greatest international attention from another incursion into Soviet airspace. On April 20, 1978, Flight 902 took off from Paris, bound for Seoul. After flying across the North Pole, it strayed over the Soviet Union. The

Russians say the pilot ignored repeated Soviet attempts to contact him. Soviet fighters then fired on the plane, forcing it down on Soviet territory. The incident, in which two passengers died, was never satisfactorily explained.

Throughout the 1970s, as the United States withdrew troops from South Korea and members of Congress called for cutbacks in military aid to Park, Seoul began to build up its defense capability and K.A.L. was enlisted in the effort. The airline opened a Special Projects Division in 1976 and began to assemble Hughes military helicopters. "This was the seed activity to establish the Korean aerospace industry," said Rob Mack, a public affairs officer for McDonnell Douglas Helicopter Company, which acquired Hughes Helicopter in 1984. In 1980, K.A.L. signed a joint manufacturing agreement with Northrop to assemble F-5 jet fighters for the South Korean Air Force.

K.A.L. also obtained contracts from the U.S. military. In 1979 it was awarded an \$8 million contract to repair and service U.S. Air Force F-4 jet fighters. Now K.A.L. maintains U.S.A.F. planes throughout the Pacific theater, servicing F-4s, F-15s, F-16s, A-10 attack planes and Navy C-130 cargo planes. In fiscal 1985 the Air Force reported that it paid K.A.L. \$27 million. The Air Force's Contract Maintenance Center's roster of the top U.S.A.F. contractors throughout the world (about forty-eight in total) lists only two civilian airlines—Philippines Air, which controls corrosion on C-130s, and K.A.L.—according to Peter Spriggs, a public affairs officer at U.S. Air Force Logistics Command.

Besides its military work, K.A.L. reportedly is involved in the international arms trade. In 1983 officials of the U.S. Customs Service told *Time* that K.A.L. and two companies controlled by the South Korean government made sixty separate purchases of Hawk missiles and parts in the United States and diverted the weapons to Iran, despite a State Department ban on weapons transfers to that country. That same year *Defense & Foreign Affairs Weekly* noted:

The U.S. Customs Service is considering launching an investigation to find out how substantial amounts of military equipment, particularly spare parts for F-4s and F-5s, are winding up in Iran. The suspicion is that the supplies are coming in from South Korea and that Korea has replaced Israel as Iran's alleged major supplier of U.S.-origin equipment.

Because K.A.L. assembled F-5s and serviced U.S. F-4s, it would have handled parts for both fighters.

K.A.L. made a weapons purchase in 1982, which was highly unusual for a civilian company. Hughes Aircraft invoices show that the airline bought twenty-five M65 TOW missile systems, an antitank weapon fired from certain helicopters. The airline paid \$4.1 million for the weapons, which are listed on Hughes documents as part of a deal also involving Israel. The destination to which the TOWs were to be shipped is designated "Our Records Only." Since the invoices call for a shipping address only if the goods are to be sent to a place other than the purchaser's address, the missiles must have gone to a location other than "Korean Airlines, Seoul, Korea." The TOW system would be in demand by a nation needing an antitank capability and posses-

THE K.A.L. COWBOYS

A number of theories have been offered to account for Flight 007's journey into Soviet airspace, from navigational error to intelligence mission, but high on the list is pilot error. As *The New York Times* observed, K.A.L.'s "corporate inclination toward aggressiveness is seen in the flying practices" of its pilots, nearly all of whom served in the Korean Air Force. A veteran U.S. pilot told *The Times* that his K.A.L. counterparts have a reputation "for being kind of macho pilots, guys with more guts than brains." *The Times* reported that they have been known to give false position readings to air traffic controllers in order to "jump the line" of aircraft waiting for clearance to land. Also mentioned were the widespread reports that K.A.L. pilots take shortcuts to conserve fuel.

Not long after the 007 incident, the widows of the plane's co-pilot and navigator told a public meeting in Seoul that K.A.L. captains were paid bonuses for saving fuel. Charles Hermann, an attorney who is representing the two women in a pending lawsuit and who attended the meeting, told me, "They expressed the fear their husbands had expressed to them—that they were flying close to Russian territory." This caused crews to fear a Soviet response.

According to Jon Sharpe, who worked as an air traffic controller in Anchorage between 1974 and 1981, "It was semi-routine for a K.A.L. airliner not to be on course." Sharpe attributed this pattern to language difficulties and the attitude of the pilots, who, he said, fly "like military flyers—where they want, without caring about the system."

K.A.L.'s former Air Force pilots are reportedly well indoctrinated in the anti-Communist rhetoric of the regime. "The Korean military is paranoid," a South Korean lawyer familiar with the Hanjin Group's operations observed, referring not only to its deep suspicion of North Korea but also to its distrust of the depth of the United States' military commitment to South Korea. "A bona fide airline business engaged in commercial airlines might be asked to do things an airline company in the United States might not have to do," he added.

D.C.

sing helicopters suitable for firing the missiles. Iran meets both criteria.

Several individuals familiar with weapons trading could not explain the purchase. "To my knowledge, no TOWs have been sold to K.A.L., which would have no use for an antitank weapon," said a Hughes official involved in the TOW program. "They have to be sold through governments and can't be sold to individual companies. . . . This doesn't make any sense to me." Clyde Bryant, chief of the support services division of the State Department's Office of Munition Control, echoed the Hughes official: "No sale of TOW missiles can be made to a private corporation. It does not make sense. I cannot conceive of such a sale taking place, if not directly to the South Korean government."

When asked if K.A.L. might have acquired the weapons for the South Korean government, which does purchase M65 TOWs, Col. Sam-Seong Yoon from the Logistics Service Attache's office in the South Korean Embassy noted: "If the Republic of Korea government purchases complete equipment, it doesn't use private companies [to make the sale]. It makes direct contact with the U.S. supplier. Private Korean companies can purchase spare parts, but [TOW] equipment is usually purchased through F.M.S. channels [the Foreign Military Sales program of the U.S. Defense Department]. That would go through this office and the Defense Procurement Agency in Seoul." Kari Fielder, a spokeswoman for the U.S. Air Force's Contract Management Division, which recouped \$131,620 in research and development costs in connection with the Hughes-K.A.L. deal, commented, "What confuses us is why Korean Air Lines was involved." She said her office could not locate records related to the deal. Responding to an inquiry about the invoices, Jim Knotts, a Hughes spokesman, said, "There are certain customers we can't comment on, and this is one case where I can't help you."

From the foregoing a portrait emerges of K.A.L. as an intelligence asset, military contractor, arms broker and conduit for political payoffs. The airline's symbiotic relationship with the South Korean government, while not unusual in developing countries, has prompted some observers to wonder if it is a de facto arm of the state. "The airline is the symbol of the nation," a specialist in U.S.-South Korean trade said. "It expects to receive preferential treatment and credits." What K.A.L. has received from the government has been a monopoly on domestic traffic and strong backing in international routes. As a result, it usually turns a respectable profit. It made \$2.9 million in 1983 and \$4.5 million in 1984, according to *Business Week*, though it lost nearly \$4 million in the first half of 1985 because of a decline in its cargo business.

Dan McKinnon, the last chair of the now-defunct U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board, told a House Transportation and Public Works subcommittee in 1984 that South Korea sets aviation conditions that are favorable to K.A.L. and unfavorable to U.S. carriers. Testifying before the same body, Cyril Murphy, vice president of international and governmental affairs for the Flying Tiger Line, which competes

with K.A.L. for cargo traffic, charged that South Korea forces the country's shippers to use K.A.L. instead of U.S. carriers. During these hearings, which focused on U.S.-South Korean aviation relations and charges of unfair K.A.L. business practices, the airline was depicted as a brash and overly aggressive company that is heavily dependent on government support. K.A.L. declined to send a representative to the hearings, but in a letter to the subcommittee dated after the hearings had concluded, Charley Cho wrote, "We find it difficult to understand how such false allegations could be raised."

Shortly before the hearings, and six months after Flight 007 was shot down, K.A.L.'s top management underwent a shakeup. Charley Cho took over as president, replacing his older brother, Harry, the patriarch of the firm, who remains chair and chief executive officer. There were other cosmetic changes: K.A.L. was renamed Korean Air, and its corporate logo and planes were revamped in an effort to distance the airline from the bad publicity caused by Flight 007. Charley Cho now makes one trip each Wednesday as a flight attendant. Dressed in a three-piece suit, he serves coffee and tea to the passengers and asks them how service might be improved.

What does all this reveal about the most controversial chapter in Korean Air Lines' history, the downing of Flight 007? Nothing directly. But as suggested at the outset, the story of the airline and the Cho brothers contains numerous instances of cooperation with the South Korean government and its intelligence arm. As the specialist on U.S.-South Korean trade cited earlier put it: "The close connections between K.A.L. and the government do not make it different from any other large Korean company. The Chos were given a business upon which demands might be made from time to time." That's the way business, politics, intelligence and military affairs have worked in South Korea for the past decades. But although the strange history of K.A.L. may tell us more about behind-the-scenes manipulation in South Korea than Flight 007, it also provides another reason why the Flight 007 affair deserves a full and open Congressional investigation. □

Note: On April 21 we received the following letter from Patrick Smith, a journalist based in Victoria Peak, Hong Kong.

In the week of April 6-12, I contacted Hong Kong-based officials of Korean Airlines at *The Nation's* request. These officials included Mr. S.J. Jin, vice president for Southeast Asia and the most senior official of the airline in Hong Kong.

I put to them the list of queries given me by *The Nation* re the story on the airline written by David Corn. They accepted them and we agreed to discuss their response later in the week.

On Thursday, April 10, an official of the airline informed me that the airline would offer no response to the queries. He acknowledged that the Seoul office had received similar questions through its New York office.

"It must be understood that we have close relations with our government," the official said, informally. "But this is a necessity in such matters as air routes. Our relations with our government would be normal for any airline. They are no different."

Patrick Smith

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Essential Terrorist

EDWARD W. SAID

TERRORISM: How the West Can Win.
Edited by Benjamin Netanyahu. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 253 pp. \$18.95.

As a word and concept, "terrorism" has acquired an extraordinary status in American public discourse. It has displaced Communism as public enemy number one, although there are frequent efforts to tie the two together. It has spawned uses of language, rhetoric and argument that are frightening in their capacity for mobilizing opinion, gaining legitimacy and provoking various sorts of murderous action. And it has imported and canonized an ideology with origins in a distant conflict, which serves the purpose here of institutionalizing the denial and avoidance of history. In short, the elevation of terrorism to the status of a national security threat (though more Americans drown in their bathtubs, are struck by lightning or die in traffic accidents) has deflected careful scrutiny of the government's domestic and foreign policies. Whether the deflection will be longstanding or temporary remains to be seen, but given the almost unconditional assent of the media, intellectuals and policy-makers to the terrorist vogue, the prospects for a return to a semblance of sanity are not encouraging.

I hasten to add two things, however, that are. The noisy consensus on our Libyan adventures is, or seems to be, paper thin. The few dissenting voices are a good deal more effective in stimulating discussion and reflection (which on their own, alas, cannot prevent the destruction we are capable of unleashing) than one might have thought. A small instance of what I mean occurred recently during a Phil Donahue show whose subject was the April 14 raid on Libya. Donahue began the show by asking the audience for their opinion; he received an almost total, even enthusiastic, endorsement of "our" righteous strike. Two of his guests

were Sanford Ungar and Christopher Hitchens, who, once they got going, managed quite rapidly to extend the discussion beyond the audience's unexamined assumptions and patriotic bombast. By the end of the hour, the kicking of Libyan ass in revenge for terrorism seemed to be a less agreeable, more troubling exercise than when the program began.

The second source of encouragement is related to the first. The obvious case to be made against the ugly violence and disruptions caused by desperate and often misguided people has little sustainable power once it is extended to include gigantic terror networks, conspiracies of terrorist states or terrorism as a metaphysical evil. For not only will common sense rise up at the paucity of evidence for these preposterous theories, but at some point (which is not yet near enough) the machinery for pushing the terrorist scare will stand exposed for the political and intellectual scandal that it is. The fact is that most, if not all, states use dirty tricks, from assassinations and bombs to blackmail. (Remember the C.I.A.-sponsored car bomb that killed eighty people in the civilian quarter of West Beirut in early 1984?) The same applies to radical nationalists, although we conveniently overlook the malfeasance of the bands we support. For the present, however, the wall-to-wall nonsense about terrorism can inflict grave damage.

The difference between today's pseudoscholarship and expert jargon about terrorism and the literature about Third World national liberation guerrillas two decades ago is interesting. Most of the earlier material was subject to the slower and therefore more careful procedures of print; to produce a piece of scholarship on, say, the Vietcong you had to go through the motions of exploring Vietnamese history, citing books, using footnotes—actually attempting to prove a point by developing an argument. This scholarship was no less partisan because of those procedures, no less engaged in the war against the enemies of "freedom," no less racist in its assumptions; but it was, or at least had the pretensions of, a sort of knowledge. Today's discourse on terrorism is an altogether more stream-

lined thing. Its scholarship is yesterday's newspaper or today's CNN bulletin. Its guru—Claire Sterling, Michael Ledeen, Arnaud de Borchgrave—are journalists with obscure, even ambiguous, backgrounds. Most writing about terrorism is brief, pithy, totally devoid of the scholarly armature of evidence, proof, argument. Its paradigm is the television interview, the spot news announcement, the instant gratification one associates with the Reagan White House: "reality time," the evening news.

This brings us to the book at hand. *Terrorism: How the West Can Win* edited and with commentary, weedlike in its proliferation, by Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli ambassador to the United Nations. A compilation of essays by forty or so of the usual suspects—George Shultz, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Lord Chalfont, Claire Sterling, Arthur Goldberg, Midge Decter, Paul Johnson, Edwin Meese 3d, Jean-François Revel, Jack Kemp, Paul Laxalt, Leszek Kolakowski, etc.—*Terrorism* is the record of a conference held two years ago at the Jonathan Institute in Washington, Jonathan Netanyahu being Benjamin's brother, the only Israel casualty of the famous raid on Entebbe in 1976. (It is worth noting that victims of "terrorism" like Netanyahu and Leon Klinghoffer get institutes and foundations named for them, to say nothing of enormous press attention, whereas Arabs, Moslems and other nonwhites who die "collaterally" just die, uncouneted, unmourned, unacknowledged by "us.")

The sections into which the book is divided roll forth with a reassuringly steady acceleration: "The Challenge to the Democracies" and "Terrorism and Totalitarianism" are succeeded by (of course) "Terrorism and the Islamic World," which in turn brings forth "The International Network" and "Terrorism and the Media." These are followed by "The Legal Foundations for the War Against Terrorism" and "The Domestic Battle," yielding in place to the final, the biggest, the choicest subject of all, "The Global Battle." Compared with earlier works on the subject (for instance, Walter Laqueur's *Terrorism*) this one has shed all the introductory attempts at historical perspective and cultural context. Terrorism is now a fully formed object of more or less revealed wisdom.

Edward W. Said is a professor of English and comparative literature at Columbia University. His book After the Last Sky, with Jean Mohr, will be published by Pantheon in the fall.

There are some low-level oddities about this book that should be noted quickly. Very few efforts are made to convince readers of what is being said: sources and figures are never cited; abstractions and generalizations pop up everywhere; and, except for three essays on Islam, historical argument is limited to the single proposition that terrorism has never before presented such a threat to "the democracies." I was also struck at the verb in the book's subtitle, *How the West Can Win*, doesn't seem to have an object: Win what? one wonders. So great is the number of contributors, so hortatory the tone, so confident and many the assertions, that in the end you retain little of what has been said, except that you had better get on with the fight against terrorism, whatever Netanyahu says it is.

No wonder, then, that Mario Cuomo, who consults on foreign policy with Netanyahu, an official of the foreign government, has endorsed the book in a jacket blurb, urging "presidents, premiers, governors, mayors," to read it for its startling-

"valuable lessons": that "state-sanctioned international terrorism is purposeful and often conspiratorial, and that the world's democracies are targets of terrorism." If Cuomo's presence in this august company is designed to make him appear serious and *presidentable* by association, he really ought to reconsider for a moment. Because the whole book is unfortunately staked on the premise that the Western democracies and their leaders are gullible, soft and stupid, a condition whose only remedy is that they abandon their "Western" essence and turn violent, hard and ruthless. And if, in addition, they could be led by the Netanyahu family, Yitzhak Rabin and Moshe Arens (all of them contributors to *How the West Can Win*), their successful transfiguration would be assured. At that point, however, would liberal Mario Cuomo stand any chance at all?

In fact, *Terrorism: How the West Can Win* is a book about contemporary American policy on only one level. It is equally a book about contemporary Israel, as represented by its most unyielding and unattractive voices. An attentive reader will surely be alerted to the book's agenda from the outset, when Netanyahu, an obsessive if there ever was one, asserts that modern terrorism emanates from "two movements that

have assumed international prominence in the second half of the twentieth century, communist totalitarianism and Islamic (and Arab) radicalism." Later this is interpreted to mean, essentially, the K.G.B. and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the former much less than the latter, which Netanyahu connects with all nonwhite, non-European anticolonial movements, whose barbarism is in stark contrast to the nobility and purity of the Judeo-Christian freedom fighters he supports.

Unlike the wimps who have merely condemned terrorism without defining

it, Netanyahu bravely ventures a definition: "terrorism" he says, "is the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political purposes." But this powerful philosophic formulation is as flawed as all the other definitions, not only because it is vague about exceptions and limits but because its application and interpretation in Netanyahu's book depend a priori on a single axiom: "we" are never terrorists; it's the Moslems, Arabs and Communists who are.

The view is as simple as that, and it

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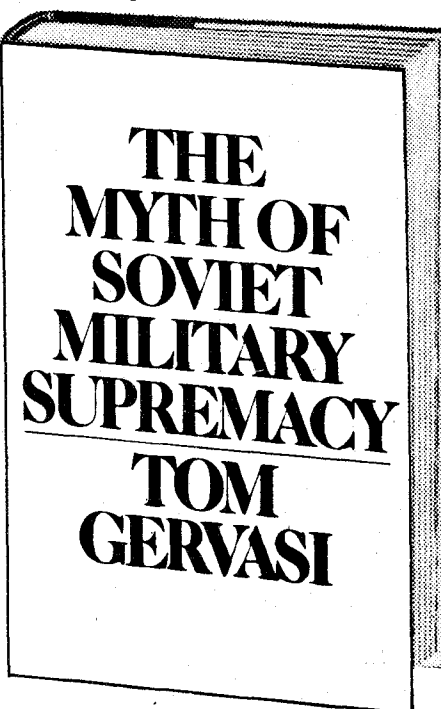
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goes back in time to the fundamental and inaugurating denial in Israeli history: the buried fact that Israel came to exist as a state in 1948 as a result of the dispossession of the Palestinians. In the early 1970s there was, I believe, a subliminal recognition on the part of Israel's leaders that no conventional military option existed against the Palestinians, who number 650,000 inside Israel, 1.3 million in Gaza and the West Bank and 2 million in exile, and that therefore they would have to be done away with by other means. That recognition was certainly the result of the emergence of post-1967 Palestinian nationalism as a force resisting Israel's occupation of historical Palestine in its entirety.

The principle of "armed struggle" derives from the right of resistance accorded universally to all peoples suffering national oppression. Yet like all peoples (including, of course, the Jews) the Palestinians resorted on occasion to spectacular outrages, in order to dramatize their struggle and to inflict pain on an unremitting enemy. This, I have always believed, was a political mistake with important moral consequences. Certainly Israeli violence against Pales-

tinians has *always* been *incomparably* greater in scale and damage. But the tragically fixated attitude toward "armed struggle" conducted from exile and the relative neglect of mass political action and organization inside Palestine exposed the Palestinian movement, by the early 1970s, to a far superior Israeli military and propaganda system, which magnified Palestinian violence out of proportion to the reality. By the end of the decade, Israel had co-opted U.S. policy, cynically exploited Jewish fears of another Holocaust and stirred up latent Judeo-Christian sentiments against Islam.

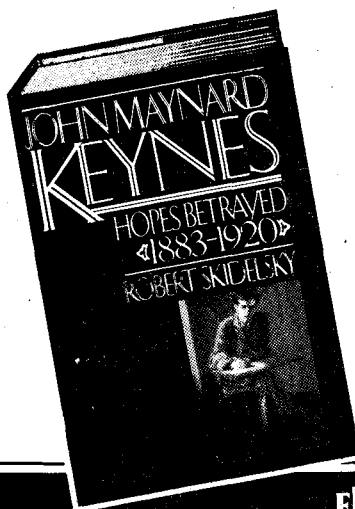
An interesting article by the Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliouk in the February 1986 issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique* suggests that it became a conscious aim of Israeli policy in the mid-1970s to delegitimize Palestinian nationalism in toto by defining its main expression—the P.L.O.—as terrorist, the better to be able to ignore its undeniable claims on Israel. The major consequence of this policy was, of course, the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, allegedly carried out to defeat terrorism but in reality designed to settle the fate of the West Bank and Gaza, particularly given the fact that the P.L.O.

had scrupulously observed a cease-fire between July 1981 and June 1982.

Yet one of the complexities of the 1982 invasion was that it showed the West a side of Israel hitherto well hidden. All the more reason, therefore, to efface the picture of Sabra and Shatila by waging a full-scale ideological and cultural battle against terrorism—a battle whose main thrust has been, first, selectivity ("we" are never terrorists no matter what we may have done; "they" always are and always will be), and, second, its wholesale attempt to obliterate history, and indeed temporality itself. For the main thing is to isolate your enemy from time, from causality, from prior action, and thereby to portray him or her as ontologically and gratuitously interested in wreaking havoc for its own sake. Thus if you can show that Libyans, Moslems, Palestinians and Arabs generally speaking, have no reality except that which tautologically confirms their terrorist essence as Libyan Moslems, Palestinians and Arabs, you can go on to attack them and their "terrorist" states generally, and avoid all questions about your own behavior or about your share in their present fate. In the words of Benjamin Netanyahu

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The root cause of terrorism lies not in grievances but in a disposition toward unbridled violence. This can be traced to a world view which asserts that certain ideological and religious goals justify, indeed demand, the shedding of all moral inhibitions. In this context, the observation that the root cause of terrorism is terrorists is more than a tautology.

To reduce the whole embroiled history that connects "us" with terrorists (or Israelis with Palestinians) to Midge Decter's tiny, scornful phrase, "the theory of grievances," is to continue the political war against history, ours as well as theirs, and leave the problem of terrorism unsolved.

Consider now the rigorous selectivity of this approach. Julie Flint, a reporter for *The Guardian* of London, described an Israeli intervention in Lebanon in early March of this year, just as Farrar, Straus was getting the Netanyahu compilation ready for the bookstores. Looking for two missing Israeli soldiers, an Israeli military unit accompanied by South Lebanese Army men (Israeli mercenaries) entered the village of Shakra: "Throughout the week, every day at daybreak, the Israelis herded all Shakra's men into the courtyard of

the local school for interrogation. 'We've spent the whole time sitting on the ground,' Mr. Nassar [a young merchant in the town, just returned from several years' absence] said. 'If we stood up they hit us.'" Flint's report continues in terrifying detail; I shall cite it here at length because it is not likely to be found in any American publication, so powerful are the restraints against printing material that openly discredits the Israelis and compromises their antiterrorist stance. It should be set against the items regularly produced by the U.S. media that purport to describe the U.S.-Israeli view of "terrorism," for example, the handouts given to and dutifully reproduced by Thomas Friedman of *The New York Times*. (A particularly egregious instance was an article on February 16, 1986, in which we were treated to such solecisms as the Israeli intelligence notion of the "terrorilla.") The evidence from Shakra undermines, to say the least, Netanyahu's definition of terrorism as applied exclusively to the P.L.O. and the K.G.B.:

The Irish [U.N.] troops tried to send in water, milk and oranges, but the Israelis and the SLA men threw it all

on the ground. Then on Friday, the routine changed: men, women and children—the youngest a day-old baby—were all locked in the courtyard and interrogated in two schoolrooms. Villagers say the first interrogation was with Israeli soldiers and the second with SLA thugs—in a room where bloodstains were still to be seen last week on the floor and on two school desks. Scattered all over the small room were objects villagers said were used in the interrogation—chair legs, wooden sticks, cigarette butts in ash trays still sitting on electric stoves, electric coils, and nails with which the interrogators reportedly pierced ears. Throughout the day, the Irish were refused access to the detainees, although screams could be heard and several people could be seen badly hurt in the schoolyard. In the late afternoon, five men were thrown into the street outside the school, all crying and some unable to stand upright. They were taken to the hospital. Although Unifil declines to discuss the "full documentary evidence" in its medical report, reporters who visited the five saw they had been brutally beaten and burnt on the back with cigarette ends. Radwan Ashur, a student, had badly damaged hands; friends said his interrogators walked over them in army boots. Another man had

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his penis burnt with a cigarette lighter. A short way from his school, young men including Mr. Nassar, were assembled at night by the village pond. They said they were thrown into it and then, dripping wet and their hands tied behind their backs, were made to lie until dawn on the floor of an unfinished shop. "You have to tell us everything about this town," Mr. Nassar was told. He replied: "I don't know anything. I've just come from Liberia." After the Israelis finally departed late on Saturday having failed to find their men, the security report for Shakra showed that 55 men and six women, one of them pregnant, had been taken away, three houses had been dynamited and many others looted and wrecked, their doors blasted off with grenades. Several dozen cars were stolen.

The point about this little episode (which features the innocent civilians whom the United States loves to defend) is not that it occurs daily, or that such behavior has been characteristic of the Israeli state from the very beginning (as revealed by revisionist Israeli historians Tom Segev and Benny Morris, among others), or that it is increasing in viciousness as the spurious excuse of "fighting terrorism" serves to legitimize every case of torture, illegal detention, demolition of houses, expropriation of land, murder, collective punishment, deportation, censorship, closure of schools and universities. The point is that such episodes are almost completely swept off the record by the righteous enthusiasm for deploring Arab, Moslem and nonwhite "terrorism."

In this enthusiasm a supporting role is played by the accredited experts on the Islamic world. Note here how, unlike those scholars of Latin America, Africa and Asia whose naïveté leads them to express solidarity with the peoples they study, the guild of the Middle East Orientalists seems to have produced only the likes of Bernard Lewis, Elie Kedourie and the utterly ninth-rate P.J. Vatikotis, each of whom contributes a slice of mendacity to Netanyahu's smorgasbord. Far from offering insights about their area of specialization (which provides them with a living) that might promote understanding, sympathy or compassion, these guns-for-hire assure us that Islam is indeed a terrorist religion. So untoward and humanly unacceptable is this position that *The New York Times's* John Gross refused to recognize it in his review of this book. He

therefore especially commended Lewis's view—Gross paraphrases freely—"that there is nothing in Islam as a religion that is especially conducive to terrorism." But had he read past the second paragraph of Lewis's essay, he would have found the great man saying that "it is appropriate to use Islam as a term of definition and classification in discussing present-day terrorism."

Gross and Lewis are symptomatic of the whole deformation of mind and language induced by "terrorism." Gross is so ideologically infected with the antinomian view that, on the one hand, no respectable scholar can say racist things and, on the other, one can say anything about Islam and the Arabs if one is a respectable scholar, that he just gives up on reading critically. Lewis, who is by now reckless with the confidence inspired by having *The New York Times*, *The New York Review of Books*, *The New Republic* and *Commentary* more or less at his disposal, serves up one falsehood or half-truth after another in his essay. Islam, he tells us, is a political religion, a unique thing. Whereas, he intones, Jesus sacrificed himself on the cross and Moses died before he entered the Promised Land, Mohammed (clever fellow) founded a state and governed it. Those three millennial facts alone are supposed to have determined the whole of Christian, Jewish and Islamic history and culture ever since. Never mind that Jewish and Christian leaders have—to this day—founded and governed states, or that Jews and Christians (quite ignoring the charity of Christ or the misfortunes of Moses) fought battles in the name of Christianity and Judaism that were as bloody as anyone else's. What matters, says Lewis, is that at the present time there is "the reassertion of this association of politics and Islam," as if it isn't clear that Israel is perhaps the most perfect coincidence of religion and politics in the contemporary world, or that Jerry Falwell and Ronald Reagan time and again connect religion and politics. No, not at all; it is only Moslems, unregenerate combiners, like their founder, of politics and religion, who are guilty of this atavism. It can make you quite angry to read such nonsense.

Terrorism: How the West Can Win is thus an incitement to anti-Arab and anti-Moslem violence. It further inflames an atmosphere in which it is considered natural that when Leon Klinghoffer is senselessly and brutally mur-

dered, *The New York Times* devotes 1,043 column inches to his death, but when Alex Odeh, no less an American, is just as senselessly and brutally murdered at the very same time in California, he gets only 14 column inches. Have we become so assured of the consequences of millions of Arab and Moslem lives that we assume it is a routine or unimportant matter when they die either at our hands or at those of our favored Judeo-Christian allies? Do we really believe that Arabs and Moslems have terrorism in their genes?

The worst aspect of the terrorism scam, intellectually speaking, is that there seems to be so little resistance to massively inflated claims, undocumented allegations and ridiculous tautologies. Even if we allow that the price almost to a man or woman, is so reduced by moronic notions of new worthiness, spectacle and power that cannot distinguish between isolated and politically worthless acts of desperation and orchestrated attempts at genocide it is still difficult to explain how or why it is that those who should know better either say nothing or leap on the bandwagon. Only a handful of people, like Noam Chomsky and Alexander Cockburn, seem willing to ask publicly what facts are never discussed or how it has become customary to judge evidence entirely on the basis of what race, party or creed delivers it up. If you say that the United States supplied Israel with the cluster bombs used to kill Palestinian children in Beirut, you, and by extension your statement, are dismissed not because the statement is untruthful but because you are "a Palestinian (Arab or Moslem) spokesman," as that fact doomed you irremediably spreading terrorist lies. But no one says to Claire Sterling and Jillian Beck that their unverifiable claims about "international terrorist conventions" and various "terrorist agreements," for which no proof or contents are even given, are unacceptable as evidence. And other Orientalists do not challenge Lewis and Kedourie for the bilge they regularly spill out on Arab or Islamic culture, which would be considered the rankest racism or incompetence in any other field.

Past and future bombing raids aside the terrorism craze is dangerous because it consolidates the immense, unrestrained pseudopatriotic narcissism that are nourishing. Is there no limit to the folly that convinces large numbers of

mericans that it is now unsafe to travel, and at the same time blinds them to all the pain and violence that so many people in Africa, Asia and Latin America must endure simply because we have decided that local oppressors, whom we call freedom fighters, can go along with their killing in the name of anti-communism and antiterrorism? Is there any way to participate in politics beyond the repetition of prefabricated slogans? What happened to the precision, discrimination and critical humanism that we celebrate as the hallmarks of liberal education and the Western tradition?

Do not try to answer those questions straight out. Instead, get hold of any magazine, article, television transcript, editorial, public proclamation or book on terrorism (virtually any one will do; they're interchangeable) and ask the au-

thor questions you would ask someone who argued that the universe was being run from an office inside the Great Pyramid. The world's, and our, problems will not disappear at all: they'll become fully apparent, as now, under the sign of terrorism, they are not. The main task for American intellectuals is not to attack Libya or denounce Soviet communism, but to figure out how this country's staggering power can be harnessed for communal coexistence with other societies, rather than for violence against them. Certainly such a task cannot be helped by trading in metaphysical abstractions while we charge about the world as if we were the only people who counted. Nor will it be helped by declaring ourselves to be in a perpetual state of siege, partners in this protracted insanity with the Middle East's diehard rejectionists. □

The Other Depression

JOY ROSENZWEIG

OUT OF WORK: The First Century of unemployment in Massachusetts. By Alexander Keyssar. Cambridge University Press. 469 pp. \$49.50. Paper \$4.95.

In 1955 Vaughn Davis Bornet called on his fellow American historians "to research and write a New Labor History." To Bornet, this was labor history was to be "the result of work in official and personal correspondence files of union leaders" and would paint a flattering picture of those union statesmen." He sternly warned, for example, against radical historians who might write "damaging books and articles for socialist and communist audiences" and seek to discredit "leaders, movements, organizations, our balanced two-party system, and an economy based on the profit motive."

Bornet did not prove to be much of a prophet. When a new labor history finally did emerge in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it looked very different from his prescriptions. Its focus was on the lives of ordinary working people—not on labor leaders or even trade unions. And its political coloration was

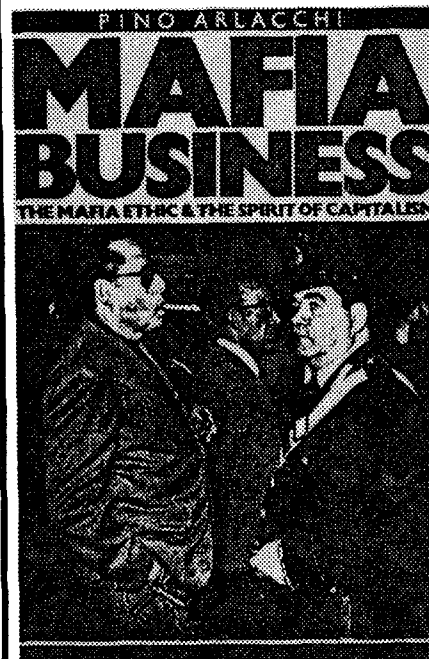
decidedly left, although its most avid practitioners were veterans of the New Left rather than the old one that so haunted Bornet in the mid-50s.

Though he would no doubt disavow the honor, Bornet did provide the label for what has become one of the most productive historical industries of the past fifteen years. During that time, new labor historians have written and rewritten the history of America's working class. Only women's history has had a more dramatic impact on the profession in recent years. But as the new labor history comes of middle age, it has lost some of its freshness and excitement. Its topics, themes and interpretations have become predictable. At the same time, many of its pages remain blank. Whereas we now have detailed studies of working-class communities and cultures, of working-class political and economic action, of shop-floor resistance to workplace discipline and of specific occupations, we still know remarkably little about the material conditions of working-class life in the past: what people ate and wore, what sort of homes they lived in, how much money they had and how many hours they worked. Of the subjects missing from the new labor history, perhaps none is more surprising—and more important—than that of worklessness.

To the degree that historians have paid any attention at all to unemploy-

Joy Rosenzweig is a co-editor, with Susan Hanson and Steve Brier, of *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* (Temple University Press).

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ment, they have focused on the Great Depression. The narrowness of this perspective ignores the pervasive recessions, depressions and joblessness of previous decades, as Alexander Keyssar shows in his superbly crafted book—the first social history of American unemployment. He notes that a worker who was 70 in 1921 would have experienced “six major cyclical downturns in the course of his adult life.” Two-fifths of his working years would have been shrouded in depression.

Keyssar does not, however, move from this important insight to the easy and comforting conclusion that the unemployed (like the poor) have always been with us. Quite the contrary, one of the great virtues of this book is that it gives historical weight to the concept and fact of unemployment. It points out that the meaning we attach to the term only emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century as manufacturing overtook agriculture, as fewer workers had access to the income supplements provided by a rural environment, as immigration swelled the labor force, as workers came to expect steady work and as employers (with fewer and fewer personal ties to their employees) found it easier to lay off workers in response to economic downturns. As Keyssar (following Marx) puts it, “the rise of industrial capitalism in Massachusetts promoted the formation of a labor reserve. It brought into existence a collection of men, women and children who rarely had as much work as they needed or wanted and who consequently were available when the employers of the Bay State had need of them.” It was only in the late nineteenth century, in the trail of this complex social transfor-

mation, that the words “unemployed” and “unemployment” came into popular usage.

After sketching the systemic origins and functions of unemployment, Keyssar examines the frequency and distribution of joblessness as well as the working-class, trade union and government responses to unemployment between 1870 and 1920. He limits his inquiry to the state of Massachusetts, where the historical materials are particularly rich, and the findings broadly applicable.

The unemployment rates that Keyssar calculates for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries appear at first glance to be relatively modest, at least by the standards of the Great Depression. During the worst years of the 1870s and 1890s unemployment was around 15 percent; in better times, rates were below 10 percent. Yet Keyssar rightly cautions against using such figures to interpret the impact of unemployment on working-class life. One of his most important methodological innovations is to calculate unemployment frequencies—measuring the percentage of workers who experience any unemployment in the course of a year. Given this perspective, joblessness looms much larger: frequencies were 30 to 40 percent in the Depression years and rarely dropped below 20 percent even in the best of times (except for the war years). And these were not brief bouts of joblessness; the average unemployed worker remained idle for three to four months. “Insecurity bred by unsteady work was one of the hallmarks of this entire, long period in American history,” Keyssar concludes.

Unemployment was not only chronic;

it was also pervasive. Keyssar scrutinizes unemployment patterns according to skill level, ethnicity, race, age and gender. Despite some significant variations, rates of joblessness differed primarily according to class: those in middle-class and white-collar occupations were far less likely to find themselves out of work. Indeed, uncertainty of employment was one of the defining features of working-class life in this era.

In Massachusetts, unemployment crossed geographic as well as social lines. Yet its impact was not always the same. Even when they were dependent upon the same trade, adjoining communities could have dramatically different unemployment rates. Keyssar uses the existence of these differential joblessness rates to help explain a phenomenon that has puzzled historians since they first noticed it in the mid-1960s: the startlingly high rate of geographic mobility in nineteenth-century America. “People had to work in order to live, and to work, they often had to move,” he observes. But mobility was not the dominant working-class strategy for coping with unemployment. Nor was assistance from private charities or state agencies. Self-help and the help of kin got many workers through jobless spells—though not without serious hardship.

Some failed to get through at all. About a dozen Massachusetts workers committed suicide in 1895 and 1896, in despair over their joblessness. (Keyssar searched the medical examiner’s records to find indications of unemployment-induced suicides.) He found that these suicides were exceptional, but many workers suffered from depression, demoralization and anxiety. And even when they returned to work they had to cope with the material and psychological aftereffects of prolonged joblessness: furniture had been sold or pawned; insurance policies had been canceled; savings had been depleted; homes had been lost; family ties had been strained.

While individuals, families and communities sought to cope with the effects of unemployment, trade unions tried with little success—to deal with the causes through both cooperative action (e.g., work sharing and the movement for a shorter workday) and exclusionary strategies (e.g., immigration and apprenticeship restrictions and seniority systems). Restrictionist solutions won support after the turn of the century and, Keyssar argues, the consequence was that unemployment “encouraged internecine

HOROSCOPE

The moon floats above us, Orion's
Lost discus, hurled in another season. Polaris
Beckons us, Pegasus rides towards heaven.
Our kiss casts a penumbra on each face.
How am I to know what love is? Gibbous
Venus is a distant muse, her yellow
Meridians swathed in shadow, bouquets
Of nebulae her only guarantee.
Gravity, the comets' alibi,
Provides the heart with its rhetoric.
In the planetarium of debris,
A phosphorus wand tattoos the zodiac.
All winter, above the dead trees, Orion flees
The Scorpion and seeks the Pleiades.

Jennifer Rose

elfare as a vehicle for the expression of class conflict." Unemployment thus luted class consciousness at the same time that it fostered conservative, bureaucratic forces within the labor movement. The jobless were only sporadically successful in mobilizing on their own half. Keyssar has uncovered the cries of Massachusetts' two leading organizers of the unemployed—Morton Swift (who went from writing a Johns Hopkins doctorate on Aristotle and Hegel to organizing the Boston branch in the 1890s) and Urbain Ledoux like Mitch Snyder of his day, who organized the "Church of the Unemployed" for the homeless and gained publicity by holding a "slave" auction of unemployed youths on the Boston Common in 1921). Swift and Ledoux met with limited success, but their protests—rooted respectively in socialism and Christian communitarianism—helped put the question of government responsibility for the unemployed on the public agenda.

At first the government took little interest in the problem. Concern grew after the panic of 1907 and reached a peak ten years later when a Massachusetts state commission endorsed the idea of unemployment insurance—a proposal that died quickly along with the reform spirit of the Progressive era. The massive unemployment of the Great Depression revived such proposals and inaugurated what Keyssar calls "a new political economy of unemployment." With the state assuming responsibility for jobless workers and with union contracts organizing seniority systems that rationalized layoff policies, an era of managed unemployment replaced the earlier "era of uncertainty." The reserve army of labor was not put out of commission, however; it was simply reorganized according to new rules.

In its extraordinarily thorough research and its creative use of quantitative and qualitative evidence, *Out of Work* is a model of historical and social analysis. It also demonstrates that the new labor history is not as tired as we might have thought. Keyssar could have spent more time developing the implications of his argument for contemporary political action beyond the brief paragraphs at the end of the penultimate chapter, but even here he has gone beyond most other recent labor historians in explicitly linking the social history of American workers to questions of politics and public policy. By

showing the historical and systemic connections between capitalism and unemployment, Keyssar has done what Bor-net feared: raised some fundamental questions about "an economy based on the profit motive." □

DANCE.

MINDY ALOFF

Eiko and Koma

Eiko and Koma—Eiko's the woman of the team—are usually reviewed by dance writers, although what they do is closer to silent acting. It could even be considered a form of clowning, an extreme version of Pierrot and Pierrette. Whatever you call it, it's fine art: sensuous and sensible and full of suspense, although to appreciate the last you must become accustomed to the dancers' pace of a step every ten seconds. The style is grounded in Butoh, a mutant species of dance theater that developed in the couple's native Japan a quarter-century ago. You can taste in it well-known performance traditions (Noh, Kabuki); Western modern dance (notably the Wigman school); the unconventional wit of its founders (including Eiko and Koma's teacher, the late Tatsumi Hijikata); and nuclear terror (evoked through film noir lighting, vaporous tableaux and dire, incandescent moods).

This work shares Butoh's romantic appetite for death and transfiguration, but not its episodic structures, preciousness or indulgence in personal quirks. Eiko and Koma are ruthless in their craft. Taut rhythmic continuity is the strongest element of their discipline, and they may be unique in their exclusive concentration on physical themes. They offer none of the private epiphanies that Kazuo Ohno so fancies, none of the moments of transforming self-regard typical of the sensitive characters fashioned by Natsu Nakajima for her Muteki-sha company. Instead, we're asked to infer only those palpables that the body can unambiguously transmit: fortitude, perseverance, acceptance, denial, agony.

Here is how the couple handles an image. A recurring Butoh motif is the pear shape the eye abstracts from the naked back of a human being folded in a fetal position. When the Sankai Juku company offered a version of this during

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one of its City Center programs last year, it was obviously intended as a sensational event, interrupting the performance's flow and breaking out of the dramatic context. Eiko and Koma put the image into *Lament*, their eight-minute video collaboration with filmmaker James Byrne, which was screened between two live works during their May program at the Asia Society. The video begins with the pear pattern tipped over on one side. The camera focuses more sharply and you recognize that the pear is a person, Eiko, lying in a dark place in an inch or two of gleaming water. The abstraction is a mistake of perception: it's a mistake, an illusion, to turn life into a mere pattern. The idea is varied in another image, where what appears to be a branch beaded with dew is discovered to be a hand with water drops depending from it. The branch, like the pear shape, is visually engaging but ultimately unreal.

Directly after the screening the lights reveal the living Eiko on stage, balled up, stark naked. She's about to perform a piece called *By the River*. No, she's already performing it. Her tiny, intelligent fingers rotate experimentally; her fantastically sentient toes tweak the air. If the piece were called *By the Sea*, her action could be compared to the animation of polyps in a tide pool. Now her whole crumpled body gently floats from side to side. Some distance away, Koma appears on his feet, robed in rags. In counterpoint to her tidal currents, he traces a painstaking, broken-backed walk along a swath of muddy pigment that may represent a (dry?) river. He makes a high, enigmatic gesture. That's the first section. The second is a projection of burning wands or candles onto the set—a bolt of fabric brushed all over with curt blue strokes, virtually tenting the stage. In the far distance a bell rings. The flames expire. The third section has Eiko standing, an Eve, her glossy black hair falling to her bare thighs. Koma is crawling some distance away. It is only a girl and a boy in a still place holding their own, but the timing, the spacing, the contrast of postures create a high-strung pictorial tension. They touch, crumple over one another and part; by the river life splits to its core and moves on.

Unlike other dancers who came of age in the late 1960s, Eiko and Koma have escaped the obsession with repetition as a strategy of emphasis. The effort to make doom entertaining, even beautiful, distinguishes their work

from that of other avant-garde Japanese choreographers based in New York: the disconnected structures of Yoshiko Chuma, the grim perseverance of Kei Takei. The pieces are more like the downbeat films of the late Mik Naruse, the Japanese director who enjoyed a retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art recently. Eiko even has the porous beauty of Naruse's actresses, or rather, her performance italicizes the same values: clarity, receptivity, renunciation and a dry-eyed strength amid suffering.

"It's beautiful but nothing happens" was the complaint frequently voiced at MoMA during the Naruse season, and also trickled down the line at the Asia Society's water fountain following Eiko and Koma's *Thirst*. Nothing happens where one expects it to. In both cases the cues to change are not in large physical actions but in slight rearrangements: an eyelid tells more than a mouth, a toe more than a leg. In Naruse the faces are immediately expressive; whole lifetimes are conjured with a turn of the head, accepted or refused with a look. In Eiko and Koma's theater the focus is reverse: facial expression confirms the body's cues. At least that was my experience. A friend found *Thirst* soporifically rearranging. She was following how long it took a figure to cross the stage, while I was trying to calculate how a sequence of creeping affected the contour of emotions moment to moment. For her, it was sheer minimalism; for me, it was densely packed as grandmaster chess.

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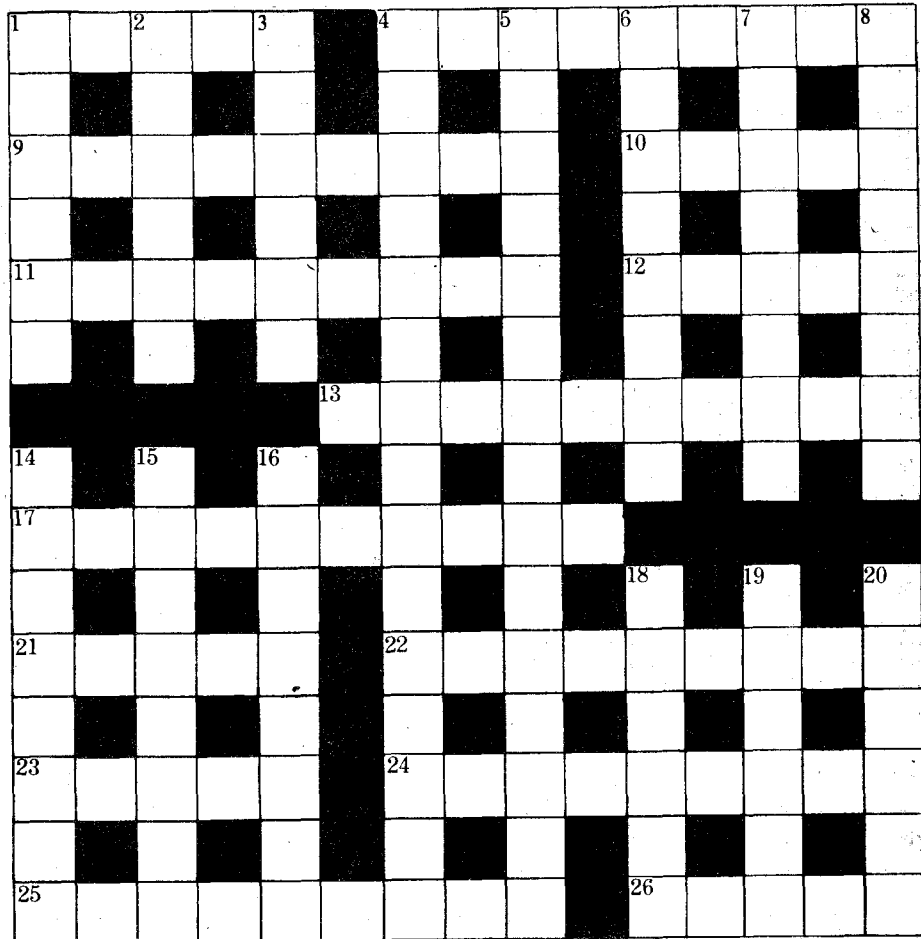
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ACROSS

- 1 and 4 Evidently the punchers might have been striking in China. (One dog meets Leo, who is up in arms.) (5,9)
- 9 Lots of deals might be worked out here—and contracts might be expected to be fulfilled. (4,5)
- 10 Light that 1 across might be looking for? (5)
- 11 Foliage naturalized in warm regions, strangely enough. (That's where one went for blocks!) (3,6)
- 12 A number seem tipsy here. (There might be a catch in it!) (5)
- 13 They might be mounted, if you're interested in rather rare game. (Proving the pool is open?) (4,6)
- 17 They come up with a natural combination more often than not, perhaps. (6,4)
- 21 Conveys the sense of wealth. (5)
- 22 A nice, pure distillation for one liking luxury. (9)
- 23 Gamblers sometimes go for it, but it's all right when the end of September comes around, however bad. (5)
- 24 Great example, but not the largest. (O.K! Her ulna gets broken!). (4,5)
- 25 Polishes shoes, pale in color—just like a native swimmer of Australia! (5,4)
- 26 Elsa's was operatic. (5)

DOWN

- 1 Returned to position, how some put their auto away? (4,2)

- 2 The old king can still come up with what the birds and bees portray to a ruler of a different country. (6)
- 3 What the snake might do when a little animal gets let out by mistake? (6)
- 4 What might the choir boys be doing? Nothing! But perhaps fell wood afterwards, according to Puck. (5,10)
- 5 In a way, nice backs for the white meat there! (6,2,7)
- 6 Elia, cut to bits? That's part of the course! (4,4)
- 7 Implying a hint where the tune can be heard? (Hear it in different circumstances, too.) (2,3,3)
- 8 Doesn't one believe in anything? (8)
- 14 This should go straight down, but it sounds like quite a choice thing to Robert. (5,3)
- 15 Alias Newhouse, in a different country he built up quite a reputation! (8)
- 16 Items of import might cross it. (Wednesday's has a day missing, with the beginning of knowledge.) (4,4)
- 18 Land might be so covered with plants, and commonly worn out. (6)
- 19 The arsenic contains what might carry one away for good! (6)
- 20 Proving many sort of get around on an assumed name! (6)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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AUGUST 16-AUGUST 31

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HIGHLIGHTS

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